

Gender equality in education in the country program of Save the Children Peru



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University of Helsinki
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Development Studies
Master's Thesis
November 2020

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| Tiedekunta/Osasto Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty | | Laitos/Institution– Department |
| Faculty of Social Sciences | | Master's Programme in Contemporary Societies |
| Tekijä/Författare – Author | | |
| Mervi Hakoniemi | | |
| Työn nimi / Arbetets titel – Title | | |
| Gender equality in education in the country program of Save the Children Peru | | |
| Oppiaine /Läroämne – Subject | | |
| Development Studies | | |
| Työn laji/Arbetets art – Level | Aika/Datum – Month and year | Sivumäärä/ Sidoantal – Number of pages |
| Master's thesis | November 2020 | 108 |
| Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract | | |
| <p>Equal education is a fundamental human right that each child is entitled to. Education and gender equality benefit all individuals and promote both social and economic development. However, despite numerous legal instruments and practical measures taken by the international community, as well as by national governments, the right to education remains unclaimed universally for all children and inequality in education is pervasive all over the world. As a legacy of colonization Peruvian society suffers from persistent multifaceted inequalities that are manifested and reproduced in the education system in multiple ways. These inequalities are seen, amongst others, between genders, but also intersect with other individual characteristics such as poverty, rurality and indigeneity.</p> <p>This Master's thesis explores gender equality in education in Peru and how gender is mainstreamed in the country program of Save the Children Peru. To do so, it explores how legal instruments, policy documents and the country programme of the organization address gender (in)equality and attempt to mainstream gender; and analyses how an education project that the organization implemented among indigenous Aymara adolescents between 2015 and 2018 managed to mainstream gender.</p> <p>This thesis is a qualitative case study. It follows the rights-based 4A framework by Katarina Tomaševski, which encompasses availability, accessibility, acceptability, and adaptability as key aspects of quality of education. The data for it consists of normative documents, literature on inequality in education, institutional documents of Save the Children International and transcribed interviews with key informants from Save the Children Peru. These were analysed by using interpretive analysis and then considered in the light of the model of Caroline Moser on different stages of gender mainstreaming.</p> <p>The results of the study demonstrate that despite recent achievements, gender inequalities in education persist in Peru, but focus has shifted from quantitative to qualitative disparities. Many stakeholders consider gender mainstreaming a rather ambiguous concept, and challenging to both implement and assess, which is why it often remains on a rhetoric level. This yields in a need for the organizations to provide the necessary tools and capacity building, not only for the monitoring personnel but for the whole staff. Promoting gender equality across the whole program cycle must be an institutional commitment, gender mainstreaming must permeate the whole organization and adequate resources must be allocated for it.</p> | | |
| Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords | | |
| equality in education, indigeneity, gender mainstreaming, case study, Peru, Save the Children | | |
| Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited | | |
| Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information | | |

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|--|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Tiedekunta/Osasto Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty | | Laitos/Institution– Department | |
| Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta | | Yhteiskunnallisen muutoksen maisteriohjelma | |
| Tekijä/Författare – Author | | | |
| Mervi Hakoniemi | | | |
| Työn nimi / Arbetets titel – Title | | | |
| Sukupuolten välinen tasa-arvo koulutuksessa Perun Pelastakaa Lapset -järjestön maaohjelmassa | | | |
| Oppiaine / Läroämne – Subject | | | |
| Kehitysmatutkimus | | | |
| Työn laji/Arbetets art – Level | Aika/Datum – Month and year | Sivumäärä/ Sidoantal – Number of pages | |
| Maisterintutkinto | Marraskuu 2020 | 108 | |
| Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract | | | |
| <p>Tasa-arvoinen koulutus on ihmisoikeus, joka kuuluu jokaiselle lapselle. Koulutus ja sukupuolten välinen tasa-arvo hyödyttävät jokaista yksilöä ja edistävät sekä sosiaalista että taloudellista kehitystä. Kansainvälisen yhteisön ja kansallisten hallitusten julkaisemista lukuisista juridisista instrumenteista ja käytännön toimenpiteistä huolimatta oikeus koulutukseen on edelleen saavuttamatta, ja koulutuksen eriarvoisuus on suuri haaste kaikkialla maailmassa. Kolonisaation perintönä Perulainen yhteiskunta kärsii jatkuvasta monitahoisesta eriarvoisuudesta, joka ilmenee koulutusjärjestelmässä monin tavoin ja jota järjestelmä myös vahvistaa. Eriarvoisuutta esiintyy muun muassa sukupuolten välillä, mutta se on kasaantuva ominaisuus, joka ilmenee myös muiden yksilön ominaisuuksien, kuten köyhyyden, ruraalisuuden ja alkuperäiskansalaisuuden kautta.</p> <p>Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa tutkitaan sukupuolten välistä tasa-arvoa koulutuksessa Perussa ja sitä, miten sukupuolinäkökulmaa valtavirtaistetaan Perun Pelastakaa lapset -järjestön maaohjelmassa. Tätä varten tarkasteltiin miten maan juridisissa dokumenteissa sekä järjestön institutionaalisissa asiakirjoissa ja maaohjelmassa puututaan sukupuolten väliseen (epä)tasa-arvoon ja yritetään valtavirtaistaa sukupuolta, ja analysoitiin, miten organisaation vuosina 2015-2018 toteuttama koulutusprojekti Aymara-alkuperäiskansaan kuuluvien nuorten keskuudessa onnistui valtavirtaistamaan sukupuolta.</p> <p>Tämä opinnäytetyö on laadullinen tapaustutkimus. Se nojautuu Katarina Tomaševskin 4A-malliin, joka käsittää saatavuuden (availability), saavutettavuuden (accessibility), hyväksyttävyyden (acceptability) ja mukautuvuuden (adaptability) koulutuksen laadun avaintekijöinä. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu normatiivisista asiakirjoista, koulutuksen epätasa-arvoa käsittelevistä julkaisuista, Pelastakaa Lapset -järjestön institutionaalisista asiakirjoista sekä järjestön työntekijöille tehdyistä haastatteluilta. Nämä analysoitiin käyttämällä tulkitsevaa analyysia ja niitä tarkasteltiin sitten Caroline Moserin valtavirtaistamis-mallin mukaan tunnistamalla aineistosta sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistamisen eri vaiheet.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että viimeaikaisista saavutuksista huolimatta sukupuolten välinen eriarvoisuus koulutuksessa on edelleen vahvaa Perussa, mutta painopiste on siirtynyt kvantitatiivisesta kvalitatiiviseen eriarvoisuuteen. Monet sidosryhmät pitävät sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistamista epämääräisenä käsitteenä ja sen toimeenpano ja arvioiminen koetaan haastavaksi, minkä vuoksi se pysyy usein retorisella tasolla. Tästä syystä järjestöjen tulisi tarjota tarvittavat välineet sen toimeenpanoon ja kehittää, ei ainoastaan monitoroinnista vastaavien vaan kaikkien työntekijöiden, valmiuksia. Järjestöjen on sitouduttava sukupuolten välisen tasa-arvon edistämiseen osana koko ohjelmasykliä, sukupuolten tasa-arvon valtavirtaistamisen on läpäistävä koko organisaatio ja sille on osoitettava riittävät resurssit.</p> | | | |
| Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords | | | |
| tasa-arvo koulutuksessa, alkuperäiskansalaisuus, sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistaminen, tapaustutkimus, Peru, Pelastakaa Lapset | | | |
| Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited | | | |
| Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information | | | |

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Cover photo: Image 1. Aymara adolescents learning about their sexual and reproductive rights in a workshop organized by the project “Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education”, Cesar Vallejo secondary school, Moquegua. Save the Children Peru, 2015.

The photographs included in this research paper are property of Save the Children Peru and have been taken as part of the project “Aymara Adolescents Building their Future from a Better Education”, under the consent of its beneficiaries.

ABBREVIATIONS

AABFBE - Aymara Adolescents Building their Future from a Better Education

CAP - Country Annual Plan

CEDAW - Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CESCR - United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

CO - Country Office

CRC - Convention of the Right of the Child

CRBA - Child Rights Based Approach

CRSA - Child Rights Situation Analysis

CSE - Comprehensive Sexual Education

CSP - Country Strategic Plan

DNGO - Development Cooperation Non-Governmental Organization

ECLAC - United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

EFA - Education for All

ESCALE - Statistics of the Educational Quality of the Ministry of Education of Peru (In Spanish: Estadística de la Calidad Educativa del Ministerio de Educación de Perú)

EU - European Union

GBV - Gender-based Violence

GCE - Global Campaign for Education

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GEM - Global Education Monitoring

IBE - Intercultural Bilingual Education

ICESCR - International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

INEI - National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (In Spanish: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática)

INGO - International Non-governmental Organization

LAC - Latin America and Caribbean

MDG - Millennium Development Goal

MEAL - Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning

MIMDES - Ministry of Women and Social Development (In Spanish: Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social)

MIMP - Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (In Spanish: Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables)

MINEDU - Ministry of Education (In Spanish: Ministerio de Educación)

NGO - Non-governmental Organization

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PISA - Program for the International Student Assessment

PLANIG - National Plan for Gender Equality (In Spanish: Plan Nacional por la Igualdad de Género)

PNAIA - National Plan of Action for Children and Adolescents (In Spanish: Plan Nacional de Acción por la Infancia y Adolescencia)

PROMUDEH - Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development (In Spanish: Ministerio de Promoción de la Mujer y del Desarrollo Humano)

RDM - Risk and Disaster Management

SC - Save the Children

SCI - Save the Children International

SCR - Social Corporate Responsibility

SDG - Sustainable Development Goal

UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Program

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNFPA - United Nations Populations Fund

UNGEI - United Nations Girls' Education Initiative

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

UNPFII - United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

1. INTRODUCTION

The equal right to education was officially recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Art. 26) in 1948 by all the United Nations (UN) member states without exception. Since then it has been enshrined in various international conventions, national constitutions, laws and development plans. However, this right remains unclaimed universally for all children since not all the states have provided the legislative and administrative frameworks to ensure that it is guaranteed for all or, even less, have provided tools to enforce the implementation. In fact, studies show that hundreds of millions of children worldwide still lack the opportunity to receive quality education services which results in them not learning minimum basic skills (see e.g., United Nations, 2020). Even less is this right equal, as it is constantly deprived from certain individuals and population groups, based on individual characteristics, such as gender, social class, ethnicity, indigeneity etc. Even though the right for education of women is specifically recognized in several international agreements and is universally considered as key to development, the situation of women and girls remains especially critical.

It has already been a quarter of a century since gender mainstreaming was identified as the key mechanism to reach gender equality through Beijing Platform for Action (PfA). Despite the rather long trajectory, which should have produced enough information to stabilize tools, strategies and practices, development cooperation actors seem to still have uncertainty in terms of how to put the approach into practice, and some sceptics even talk of its ‘failure’ (See e.g. Moser, 2005, p. 576). It has been claimed that mainstreaming of gender is often merely rhetorical and superficial approach that, due to being cross-cutting, results in ambiguity, vagueness and lack of real contents. A growing number of scholars question (see Chapter 6), if gender has become simply common jargon in development cooperation, limited to project documents and the collection of disaggregated data, instead of concrete actions resulting in identifiable and measurable results.

In the first chapter of my thesis, I give a short thematic introduction and aims of the study, and I tell the reader how it is structured. The second chapter gives a theoretical framework for my study and concentrates on the question: “what is gender equality in education?” by first

defining some concepts thereof and then discussing what equality in education consists of and what benefits does it bring. The chapter presents the theory used in this study and I adopt as a theoretical tool for the purposes of this study the 4As scheme by Katarina Tomaševski (2001) and the framework provided by Caroline Moser (2005) on different stages of gender mainstreaming. In the third chapter I first give an outlook on the global efforts in terms of legal instruments protecting and promoting equality in education, to then address the topic in relation to the work done by Save the Children in Peru. I also shortly explore the situation of inequality in education on a global level, and then move forward to present the objectives, research questions and justification of my study.

Fourth chapter focuses on the methodology of the study by first presenting interpretive analysis as the methodological and analytical approach used to interpret the data. It then presents the used data by first giving an overlook of the interviews performed to SC key staff members and then presenting the revised SC policy documents and the main project management documents which throw light of the organizational gender approach, the discourse it maintains in terms of gender mainstreaming and what kinds of strategies it has concerning education and gender equality, as well as their application in education programme and the project “Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education”. My approach is to provide a general overview of the Save the Children (SC) Global Strategy which defines SC as a child right’s organization and then to narrow my gaze into education strategy and gender policy, which all give basis and justification to the strategies and activities driven forth and the work carried out by SC Peru in their country program. This section also describes the approaches of Save the Children International (SCI) for gender sensitive programming. I conclude the chapter by discussing the validity of the results and giving some ethical considerations.

In the fifth chapter I introduce my case study by first exploring the relevant national legislative and normative background concerning equality in and right to education, as a way of defining the level of support gender mainstreaming (GM) receives, and by then discussing the situation of inequality in education in Peru. The actual case is then addressed by giving a short overview of the Peruvian context, of Save the Children as an organization and by presenting the project “Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education”.

In the sixth chapter I present the results of the study by first arguing why gender mainstreaming is critical for yielding better results and exploring what putting it into practice means in Save the Children as an organization and in its country program. I present the results of the interviews made with four staff members from Save the Children Peru, and reflect them together with policy documents to institutional practices in order to deepen my understanding about gender mainstreaming within the organization and to observe more closely its performance in the light of the legislative background. The final chapter draws conclusions and gives a synthesis of key points discussed in this study. Based on those, I also give some recommendations on how to mainstream gender more effectively, with particular reference to Save the Children as a child rights organization. Finally, some suggestions about possible topics for further study are given.

2. THEORY - GENDER EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

2.1. Key concepts

My understanding of ‘gender’, lies on the theory of Judith Butler (1990) on gender being a social construct, expressed through two binary categories that follow the dominant societal norms and that are produced, reproduced and reinforced through social practices, discourses, as well as socialization agents and institutions. These are in active interplay in children's everyday life – and notably so in school environments, school being one of the main socialization institutions in children’s lives. This socialization happens both through gender normative discourses and practices which instil in children the idea of what they are expected to do in their lives because of their gender. Even though I acknowledge the diversity of genders, this master’s thesis employs the traditional two categories – boys/men and girls/women – as means of expression, since it is the discourse and the categorization used in all the data, as well as by the institutions and project beneficiaries involved and based on which the dominant system and power dynamics are constructed. However, Stromquist (2013, p. 29) has defined gender as a “system of tangible as well as subtle oppression that, building on social constructions of femininity and masculinity, permeates institutional practices and individual beliefs in ways that render the asymmetrical distribution of freedom and power a “natural” and uncontested reality”. I recognize this oppression and agree with Castillo and Gamboa (2013, 1) in that education has, indeed, normalized inequality, contributing for boys and girls to adopt the traditional gender roles either consciously or unconsciously, and reproducing models of inequality and hierarchy between men and women.

Baily and Holmansdottir (2015, p. 830) denote that in gender and education contexts, the terms ‘equality’ and ‘equity’ are often used interchangeably, which “limits our understanding of larger structural or systemic facets of gender injustice” and thus also hampers their consideration in development cooperation – in how gender-sensitive programming and gender mainstreaming should be taken into practice. According to the United Nations (1948) ‘equality’ refers to the absence of discrimination based on personal and social circumstances of an individual. ‘Gender equality’, on the other hand, means that all individuals, regardless of their gender, have equal rights, duties and opportunities to fulfil themselves and participate in

society. This means that they must have equal opportunities to realize their individual potential by contributing to the economic and social development of the society and to benefit from it. Baily & Holmansdottir (2015, p. 831) complement the definition with the concept of parity, denoting that gender equality needs to go beyond equal representation existing in a particular context and needs to explore gender equality “in relation to global and national concerns such as poverty, violence, globalization and participation”. Save the Children (2017, p. 4) takes the notion even further defining gender equality as a “situation where one sex is not routinely privileged or prioritized over the other, and all people are recognized, respected, and valued for their capacities and potential as individuals and members of society”.

‘Equity’, on the other hand, refers to the situation in which everyone is treated fairly and equally, recognising that “men and women typically have different needs, responsibilities, access to resources and decision-making powers” (Baily & Holmansdottir, 2015, p. 831). Equality is the goal towards which we aim at, whereas equity refers to the practices and ways of thinking that lead us towards this goal. Thus, equity as a concept allows differentiated distribution of goods in case it is considered necessary in search for equality. “(E)quity involves providing people with what they need in order to achieve equality.” (p. 832). For instance, it might be necessary to invest more in girls’ education because both historic and modern-day inequalities may result in obstacles and challenges that are far more profound for them in comparison to their male peers (Chisamya, DeJaeghere, Kendall & Aziz Khan, 2012, p. 744).

While gender equality refers to the balance of opportunities between genders, most cases demonstrating gender inequality show a heavy bias against women. In the field of education this means, amongst others, fewer educational opportunities, low-quality education, lower achievement, or harder work for outcomes to female students in comparison to their male fellow students. Indeed, the education system should aim at equality in the sense that the service offers everyone, both boys and girls, the possibility of achieving the same outcomes, in similar conditions, creating reasonable opportunities for them to develop their capacities, to participate fully in society, enabling and empowering all individuals, or giving them “real option” as described by Lynch and Baker (2005, p. 2). However, it is important to mention that we also hold bias characterized by prejudices related to other attributes such as ethnicity, language or geographical background. These are linked to relations of power, and to how inequality is

expressed in the society or in the educational system. In this case study inequality in education gains relevance especially through the attributes of gender and indigeneity.

There are multiple ways of defining the main factors that compound ‘equality in education’, what aspects to take into consideration when assessing it, and how to foster it. Even though this study focuses on gender inequality in education, taken into consideration the case study adopted for this research, I also consider it crucial to consider ‘indigeneity’ as a main defining characteristic of the beneficiary population of the case study. Indigeneity refers to the quality of being a member of an Indigenous group. According to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) (2015) indigeneity of an individual can be defined based on multiple criteria, amongst which it mentions self-identification, historical continuity with pre-colonial societies, relationship to land and surrounding natural resources; language, culture and beliefs; and belonging to the non-dominant group of society. The international community has not adopted a formal definition of ‘Indigenous peoples’ but self-identification is considered as a fundamental criterion. Taken into consideration the multicultural feature of my case study, it is important to bear in mind that inequality in education manifests itself in multiple ways and, gender-based discrimination tends to intersect with other individual characteristics such as poverty, ethnicity, indigeneity or race. These multiple characteristics act as intersecting sources of oppression (see e.g., Crenshaw, 1991).

To embrace the concept of (in)equality in education in a comprehensive way it is crucial to consider both quantitative and qualitative features. As Baily & Holmansdottir (2015, pp. 835-836) denote, “(d)isparities generally deal with numerical imbalances while inequalities deal with substantive asymmetries”. Indeed, in recent years scholars have become more concerned to move beyond parity to discuss and tackle quality issues in education, such as those relating to curricula, achievement and gender-based violence (GBV) in schools. Aligned with Baily and Holmansdottir, North (2010, p. 428) points out that while it is of utmost importance to increase the enrolment numbers, the services that are being offered, often omit considering the gendered or discriminatory learning environment and the embedded power relations.

The widely accepted definition of the UN Economic and Social Council, describes ‘gender mainstreaming’ (GM) as the

“process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs 1997, p. 2).

GM contains itself the idea and the action of assessing institutions, legislation, policies, and programs in order to determine their potential for advancing gender equality (Hankivsky, 2013, p. 631), and then transforming organizational processes and practices. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy, legislation, budgeting, planning, implementation and monitoring of programs and projects. Thus, it also addresses the genderedness of organizations themselves, focusing on the “material and discursive constructions of masculinity and femininity that shape and are shaped by organizational systems, work practices, norms and identities” (Benschop & Verloo, 2006, p. 19).

Gender mainstreaming, as a policy and systematic strategy is sometimes used interchangeably with *gender perspective*, *gender sensitivity* or *gender neutrality* resulting in some confusion. Gender perspective means considering gender-based differences when looking at any social phenomenon, policy or process; whereas gender sensitivity refers to the aim of understanding and taking account of the societal and cultural factors involved in gender-based exclusion and discrimination in the most diverse spheres of public and private life. Gender neutrality, on the other hand, refers to “Policy, programme or situation that has no differential positive or negative impact in terms of gender relations or equality between women and men (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2020b). These, however, generally refer to narrower and more practical approaches and not to a strategy that “requires both integrating a gender perspective to the content of the different policies, and addressing the issue of representation of women and men in the given policy area” (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2020c).

2.2. Benefits of equal education

We know from a burgeoning body of rich international research that equality in education benefits all individuals and promotes both social and economic development (see e.g., Wodon, Montenegro, Nguyen and Onagoruwa, 2018 and Global Partnership to Education, 2019 etc.). Several studies (amongst others McCracken, 2015) demonstrate that the education of women reduces poverty, empowers communities and improves the health and wellbeing of children and societies. In the same way, education of Indigenous populations improves the wellbeing of the whole nation, not only because improved human capital results in economic growth (Easterlin, 1981), but because cultural diversity plays a vital role in today's globalized world and can be expected to spur innovation and development of rural areas, and to improve the stability of the whole nation. Education has been defined as the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized adults and children can obtain the means to participate fully in their communities and lift themselves out of poverty (United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, [CESCR] 1999, p. 1). Thus, education must reach all populational groups with equal ease of access, availability and quality, and diverse populations, such as Indigenous peoples, must have the same opportunities for education as the non-Indigenous population.

Educating girls and women brings economic revenue on both personal and household level. It enables girls to exercise more agency and control over their own lives, to draft their life projects and expand their horizons, thus increasing female income and enlarging work force in general. Life project refers to the plan that a person draws in order to obtain an objective, including both short- and long-term projection. Having a life project gives coherence and meaning to the life of a person and affects their both subjective and psychological well-being (see e.g., Brouzosa, A; Vassilopoulosb, S & Boumpouli, C, 2016). As stated by Vasquez and Monge (2009, p. 34), education allows a woman to better position herself in the labor market: she gains access to better income and increases her ability to find paid work. When considered in a broader sense, an educated woman is also more aware of her rights as an employee, and she tends to have interest and abilities for professional self-development. According to World Bank studies (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos 2002, p. 2), one additional school year can increase a woman's earnings by up to 20%. World Bank Report reveals that the loss of human capital due

to dropping out of secondary education is equivalent to \$15-30 trillion in lost lifetime productivity and earnings (Wodon, Montenegro, Nguyen and Onagoruwa, 2018, p. 5). Improvement in human capital, on the other hand, has a positive impact on labor productivity. It spurs technological development, increases well being both at the community and at national level through an increase in national income, economic productivity, and gross domestic product (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] 2016, 180). As the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) puts it: "Education expands social and economic opportunities and promotes participation for both boys and girls. Girls' education, furthermore, has cascading effects on the family, community and nation." (United Nations Girls' Education Initiative [UNGEI] 2010, p. 2). Besides that, the education enriches and highly impacts the cultural capital and "soft values" of the person and the society, such as intellect, culture, diplomacy, values, ethics... and the overall positive effect of these is not to be belittled.

Another aspect, important to take into consideration especially in developing societies, is the fact that female education reduces fertility and infant mortality through improved child and maternal health because an educated woman is better informed and more conscious about the decisions she takes. Each additional year of maternal education improves maternal health (Weizman, 2017) and reduces child mortality (Kim, 2016). An educated woman is also more prone to receive family counselling and more empowered to take the decisions herself. This has relevance both when it comes to health and care while pregnant, during early years of childcare and later in life. World Bank study analysing 18 developing countries demonstrated that fertility was reduced in 30% as a result of universal secondary education (Wodon, Montenegro, Nguyen and Onagoruwa, 2018, p. 4).

Even though there are few studies made, we can deduce that the children of educated mothers are more likely to receive more balanced nutrition, grow up in a more stimulating environment, receive less violent treatment and more positive parenting, live in a healthier environment overall and to further promote the empowerment of girls (see e.g. Kim, 2016; World Bank, 2012). Vasquez and Monge (2009, p. 39), show that an increase in women's income directly and positively affects the nutrition of the family, as well as clothing, personal care and household goods. In other words, female education increases the standards of living and the life expectancy of different family members. Interestingly, Kågesten's et al. (2016, p.

22) review of adolescent perceptions demonstrates that higher maternal education is also associated with less stereotypical gender attitudes, both amongst boys and girls. Levtoev et al. (2014, p. 493) conclude that “women’s education, in addition to the many other benefits it provides, contributes to the development of more equitable sons”. Equality in education also reduces the possibilities of other forms of GBV, abuse and exploitation, as well as trafficking of women. Finally, evidence shows that women with higher education levels are less vulnerable and more resilient to natural disasters due to greater awareness of risks, higher degree of preparation and appropriate responses, affecting not only their own wellbeing but also of the whole society (UNESCO 2016, p. 181). An educated woman innovates and boosts the development of the family, community and nation.

“Achieving universal secondary education could increase by one tenth women’s reported ability to make decisions within the household” (Wodon, Montenegro, Nguyen and Onagoruwa, 2018, p. 4). Some studies demonstrate that educated women both use basic services and assess them more realistically. This reflects their level of agency. They are more prone to take decisions, to aspire for change, to challenge inequitable gender norms and to end up in leadership positions. Most importantly, an educated woman has more potential to take the decisions herself, without anyone dictating over her choices – be it men, the surrounding community and society, development cooperation actors, or the Western discourse and power relations. In table 1, I resume the above-mentioned benefits and the importance of educating women.

Table 1. Benefits of women's education

| Resulting improvement | Description |
|--|---|
| Reduction in fertility and more informed and conscious parenting | An educated mother tends to feel the need for fewer children , takes more conscious decisions concerning her children and changes childcare models. |
| Improved sexual health | An educated woman is more informed about her sexual health and rights , she can access contraceptive techniques , make better use of them and has improved protection against HIV infection, which also protects the sexual health of the infant. |
| Reduction of maternal mortality | An educated woman makes use of maternal health services which improves maternal health and life expectancy as well as reduces complications in childbirth. |
| Reduction of infant mortality | An educated woman enjoys a safer pregnancy and childbirth, improves her nutrition and health practices , those of the family, and uses child health services with more frequency. |
| More education for children | Each additional year of maternal education increases by about one third of the year the expected schooling for children . The educated woman is more prone to prioritize the education of her daughters. |
| Reduction of child marriages | The daughters of an educated woman are more likely to have delayed marriage , continue their education and have children at a later age. |
| Improved risk reduction and safety at community level | An educated woman has greater awareness of risks, a higher degree of preparation converting the communities more resilient to disasters . |
| Positive effect of the economy at household level | Improvements in household income due to increased female income. |
| Positive effect of the economy at societal and national level | An educated woman has better earnings and can aspire to a better salary which stimulates her incorporation into the labor market and boosts the economy . |
| Agency and improved gender equality | An educated woman makes decisions, participates in society, makes it more equal and claims for her rights . |

Source: Own elaboration.

According to Peppen Vaugh (2016, p. 5), no other policy intervention is likely to have a more positive multiplier effect on progress across all the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and on sustainable development in general than the education of women and girls. In this sense, if we want to reach progress in other fields of development and reach the proposed SDGs, we must act with urgency, and with long-term commitment to invest in girls' education. As the former Director-General of UNESCO Irina Bokova has stated: “Failure to do so will not only adversely affect education but will hamper progress towards each and every development goal: poverty reduction, hunger eradication, improved health, gender equality and women’s empowerment, sustainable production and consumption, resilient cities, and more equal and inclusive societies” (UNESCO 2016, p. 4). However, even though education is maybe one of the areas of social policy with most potential to empower women and break down gender inequalities, all the pieces must work together (Peppen Vaugh, 2016, 5). In the same way, as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, education must reach not only different genders but also diverse cultural and ethnic groups. Similarly, as educating girls has multiple positive effects on the whole nation, the benefits of education for the Indigenous population are not limited only to improved employment and income but include increased physical and emotional health, long-term well-being, access to opportunities, as well as resilience and empowerment of the individual and the community (see. e.g. Cosentino, 2016 and Grahame Biddle, 2007).



Image 2. Two Aymara adolescents learning about their rights, participation and leadership skills. Cambrune, Moquegua. Save the Children Peru, 2015.

2.3. Theoretical framework

As a legacy of colonization Peruvian society suffers from persistent multifaceted inequalities that are reflected and reproduced in the education system, which is of alarmingly low quality. Both national and international evaluations give similar results to the Peruvian educational system; that it is not capable of guaranteeing for all students to meet at least the basic minimum level of learning (for more information see Chapter 5.2). These inequalities are seen, amongst others, between genders, cultures and social groups. Reducing the inequalities in the education system is fundamental to address the pervasive social inequality and there is a critical need for related research.

I considered the rights based 4A model by Katarina Tomaševski (2001) a useful theoretical framework for this study, as it encompasses four different aspects (availability, accessibility, acceptability, and adaptability) in monitoring the quality and the fulfilment of the right *to* education, *in* education and *through* education. The 4 As are interrelated characteristics that allow going beyond the usual information focused on the offer and put more emphasis on the demand: the learners, their expectations, the conditions and the context. It is, therefore, aligned with the rights-based approach, promoted by Save the Children. As such, I believe that 4As model can provide rightly prioritized information on equality in education, that serve as guidelines on how to assess gender mainstreaming. Tomaševski's approach is more holistic than most other approaches, and I see it particularly useful when observing both educational practices and policies, as in my study.

The approach is based on the key principles of the Convention of the Right of the Child (CRC) which defend the best interests of the child related to the educational right and the responsibilities that fall mainly on the state as the main holder of obligations, but also on other actors, e.g., the parents, the teachers, the surrounding community and the child her/himself. Indeed, even when not specified by the framework, rights are always accompanied by and bound to certain responsibilities, as well as to actors who are responsible for the protection of a certain right or the features that compound it. This study focuses on inequality from a gender-perspective but indigeneity is also taken into consideration when presenting the 4A scheme proposed by Tomaševski (2001).

With **availability**, Tomaševski refers to the existence of educational institutions, provided and funded either by the Government or by non-state actors, of adequate infrastructure and trained teachers capable of sustaining the provision of education. The right of the child (demand) must be met by the provision of the service in sufficient numbers (offer) in all levels of education. This means, for instance, that the state must ensure the existence of educational institutions that accept students of different genders.

Ensuring **access** to education means that the system must be non-discriminatory and accessible to all. It is related to different constituents and individual characteristics relevant for students, specifically for girls, such as the location of school – e.g., the long school journey impedes the parents to send their daughters to school because of fearing they could be violated during the school journey. It is the state's obligation to look for solutions in order to ensure safe access for all to education. In the same way, other barriers for access, such as economic or schedule related obstacles, are considered, as well as including the most marginalized.

Acceptability is closely related to the quality of education. The content of education must be relevant, non-discriminatory and culturally appropriate, provided by qualified teachers. Also, the school itself must be safe. As the state should ensure the acceptability of education, it should be capable of guaranteeing that all schools conform to the minimal criteria that is considered universally acceptable. Equality and non-discrimination could be one such criteria and thus, all teachers should be capable of delivering gender-sensitive education.

The **adaptability** of education refers to the fact that the school must adapt to the needs of the society, context and the child and not the other way around. It should also contribute to overcoming inequalities, such as gender discrimination. In this sense, for instance, it must be ensured that pregnant girls or those who have given birth can fulfil their right to education. Just as any other child. This may require different kinds of measures such as change of legislation, provision of more flexible options for learning, facilitating childcare services, or simply raising awareness amongst teachers and students in order to eliminate prejudices.

In Table 2 I give a general overview of what Tomaševski's 4A framework (2001) could look like in the Peruvian context, when taking into consideration the variable of gender.

Table 2. 4A framework with gender approach in the Peruvian context

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| RIGHT TO EDUCATION | AVAILABILITY <i>Is education available to different genders throughout the education cycle?</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provision of free and compulsory education for all ● Number & diversity of schools matching school-aged children – also in rural areas and indigenous locations. ● Availability of teachers |
| | ACCESSIBILITY <i>Is education accessible to different genders in terms of the absence of financial, physical, geographical and other barriers?</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Legislation supporting gender equality in education. ● Financial feasibility of access to education for all ● Location of school facilities within appropriate reach and safety ● In the times of remote education, equal access of different genders and linguistic groups to teaching in terms of access to materials/devices and the skills how to use them. |
| RIGHTS IN EDUCATION | ACCEPTABILITY <i>Is education acceptable for different genders, in terms of content, form and structure?</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Safe school environment that fulfils minimum health standards ● Curricula and texts permeated by gender approach, addressing and combating stereotypes, discrimination and gender roles ● Teachers trained in the use of gender approach and comprehensive, culturally sensitive sexual education ● Instruction provided in the student's mother tongue ● Children recognized as subjects of rights |
| | ADAPTABILITY <i>Is education adaptable, in terms of being responsive to gender-differentiated needs and lives?</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Gender-differentiated needs ● Culturally sensitive education for Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) children ● Adaptation into regional characteristics (rural vs. urban) ● Adaptation for working children |
| RIGHTS THROUGH EDUCATION | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Protecting and enhancing children's rights in a culturally and gender sensitive manner ● Elimination of child marriage and teenage pregnancy ● Elimination of labour exploitation of children |

Source: Own adaptation from Tomaševski 2001, p. 12.

In the 4A framework by Tomaševski (2001) rights are viewed in three different ways in relation to equality. When considering the *right to* education we talk about education services that are to be provided. However, *rights in* education refer to the content or features of education services – access and availability alone are not enough without being e.g., equitable or provided

in children's mother tongue. *Right through* education, on the other hand, refers to how we can change the society into more equal through education, for example, by condemning child marriage through our education discourse and policies, as well as through pedagogical practices used in the classroom.

Finally, to assess the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming (GM) embedded in the related legal instruments and the specific case study, the theoretical framework provided by Caroline Moser (2005) was taken into consideration. Moser's theory suggests assessing the potential and the process of transforming societies and individual lives by considering GM not only on rhetoric level but on different phases of its implementation, in the same way as in project cycles. While normative and project documents are keen on including gender as a key component on rhetoric level, it is not enough to simply 'put women on the agenda' if the legislation is not translated into strategic plans that include practical tools. In practice this means that the implementation is often limited to the collection of statistical information. In reference to this, Baily & Holmansdottir (2015, p. 832) suggest a move from 'normative gains' (e.g., legislation towards equality) to 'redistributive gains' (e.g., transformation of conditions) following Subrahmanian (2005, p. 29) who defines 'equality gains' as "acceptance of the importance of equality in development and political discourse" and 'equity gains' as "actions to translate the standard of equality into meaningful redistribution of resources and opportunities". While putting gender policies in place is an important measure, it does not mean that there has been successful implementation, which should be the vehicle to reach the end-result of the agreements –empowerment of women and equality of genders. Indeed, Moser states that the challenge is how to hold stakeholders such as governments, UN agencies, the private sector and civil society accountable for implementation (p. 581) and to figure how goals, strategies and associated actions turn into outcomes. Finally, as all practices, efficient gender mainstreaming must end with evaluation or audit of both the results and the process of GM. This is the responsibility of monitoring experts, who participate in the whole project cycle but have a key role in assessing the quality and impact of an intervention.

In order to assess the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming in the Peruvian education policies and especially in educational development cooperation done by Save the Children Peru I have adapted the theory of Moser by combining its first two phases. The theory is originally

divided into four related stages (2005, pp. 576-577): *embracing the terminology, GM policy, practical GM measures, evaluation and auditing*. I argue that, as the terminology is expressed in the policies these two stages can be considered as one. The rather rhetorical (often solely intentional) policy level is then taken into practice through different measures and practices, and the effect of which must finally be evaluated and audited to complete the process and throw light on the true potential of different measures of gender main streaming.

According to North (2010, pp. 426-427), most international development institutions have indeed adopted the terminology of gender and even have a gender policy, but the policy commitments frequently evaporate in planning and implementation processes. Large numbers of studies (e.g., True 2003, Moser & Moser 2005, and Walby 2005) suggest that diverse factors contribute to this, including inadequate budgeting within organisations, lack of accountability mechanisms, and weaknesses in implementation. In the following sections I will first explore how the gender mainstreaming is embraced in the policy documents - namely in the legislation on equality and on education, as well as in the Save the Children global and national policies. I will then move on to assess its practical implementation in SC as an organization and in the project “Aymara Adolescents Building their Future from Better Education”. I will also consider how the organization is evaluating its own performance both institutionally and programmatically, as well as in the project “Aymara Adolescents Building their Future from Better Education” (from now on “AABFBE”).

3. EQUAL EDUCATION: INTERNATIONAL RELEVANCE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Equal education is a fundamental human right that each child is entitled to, and this right is asserted in numerous international treaties and documents of varying legal nature. However, due to the historical gender discrimination in education, there has been a need to enact special laws that protect girls' right to education – as well as of other vulnerable groups such as Indigenous peoples. Global efforts for equality in education are thus to be recognized. In the following section I provide a non-exhaustive list of international normative instruments, both binding and non-binding, that enshrine the right to equal education. I then explore what is the current situation in terms of equality in education globally and how gender inequality in education is manifested in different contexts. This is displayed as a situational context for the setting of my study, to then address the topic in relation to the work done by Save the Children in Peru. This context has also served as a breeding ground for my research questions and makes a stance on the relevance of the topic.

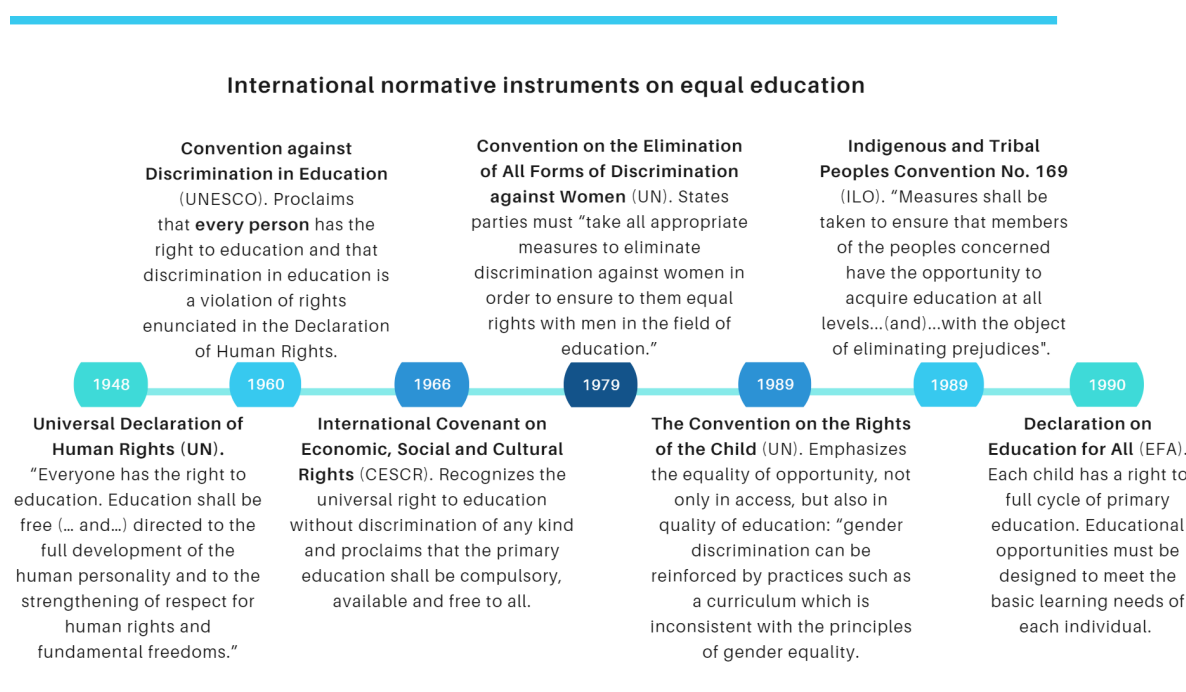
3.1. International instruments protecting and promoting equal education

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) laid the foundation for the elaboration of normative instruments to promote the rights of women and gender equality in education. Initially, however, these were rather descriptive and focused more on the first two A's by Tomaševski (the access and the availability) e.g. by declaring that education “shall be free and (...) directed to the full development of the human personality” instead of being more specific of the contents and practical provision of education services or considering the more qualitative aspects such as the latter two As - *acceptability* and *adaptability*.

By the end of the 20th century, however, the discourse had changed and more qualitative and practical aspects were taken into consideration such as the measures of how to eliminate discrimination in education (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979) or how to include positive discrimination, as in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1999). Thus, if we adopt the terminological difference described by Bailly and Holmansdottir (2015) the normative instruments shifted from the

concept of *equality* to *equity*, from simply expressing the goal towards which we aim, to taking into consideration the practices that lead to it. The General Comment No 1 of the **Convention on the Rights of the Child** (United Nations 1989) actually specifically mentions that “gender discrimination can be reinforced by practices such as a curriculum which is inconsistent with the principles of gender equality, by arrangements which limit the benefits girls can obtain from the educational opportunities offered, and by unsafe or unfriendly environments which discourage girls’ participation”.

Figure 1. Some first international normative instruments on equal education.



Source: Own elaboration.

The concept of gender mainstreaming was finally adopted in 1995 in the IV World Conference on Women in Beijing which focused specifically on women’s right to education and emphasized **gender mainstreaming** as a tool for engendering development policies. The **Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action** established that:

In addressing unequal access to and inadequate educational opportunities, Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively. (...) Non-discriminatory education benefits both girls and boys and thus ultimately contributes to more equal relationships between women and men. Equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change. (United Nations 1995, 27 & 31).

In 2000, the global education community gathered at the World Education Forum in Dakar, and a midterm evaluation was made of the EFA commitments adopted ten years earlier. This can be considered as a starting point in the evaluation of effectiveness of measures towards gender equality in education and, consequently, in assessing gender mainstreaming. **Dakar Framework for Action “Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitment”** (EFA, 2000) included six comprehensive Education for All goals, becoming the most important commitment to education in recent decades, closely aligned with the **Millennium Development Goals** (MDGs, 2000) that were established at the United Nations a few months later. Their Goal 2 aspired to a full completion of both boys and girls of primary schooling whereas the third goal on gender equality and women’s empowerment targeted to eliminate gender disparity in primary, secondary and tertiary education by 2015.

In 2007 **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** elaborated more on the already stated by the ILO Convention (1989) by pointing out that inequality in education is pronounced also based on the factor of indigeneity and declaring that “Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination”. Even when gender is not explicitly addressed by the declaration it constantly emphasizes the fact that the declaration must be taken into practice by developing measures for its implementation and specifically declares that “States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the Indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination”.

Gender mainstreaming gained even more prominent role in the Global Education for All Meeting, as the **Muscat Agreement** (2014) was developed, switching, indeed, the terminology from equality into equity by stating that the “post-2015 education agenda should be rights based

and reflect a perspective based on equity and inclusion, with particular attention to gender equality and to overcoming all forms of discrimination in and through education”. The discourse closely follows the concepts put forth in Tomaševski’s 4A model. The **Incheon Declaration for Education 2030**, adopted in 2015, complements the Muscat Agreement, setting out a new vision for education till 2030, calling for a new education agenda that “leaves no one behind”. It has a special focus on inclusion and equity, calling them a cornerstone of a transformative education agenda and stating that “No education target should be considered met unless met by all” (EFA, 2015). The Signing parties recognize the importance of gender equality in achieving the right to education for all and commit themselves to “supporting gender-sensitive policies, planning and learning environments; mainstreaming gender issues in teacher training and curricula; and eliminating gender-based discrimination and violence in schools” (Incheon Declaration for Education 2030, 2015). The Declaration thus clearly takes into consideration the four As by Tomaševski and takes an important step of including mainstreaming in a normative document as a practical measure leading towards the goal of gender equality.

The Incheon Declaration is closely related to, and contributes to the achievement of, the education-related **Sustainable Development Goals** (SDGs), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2015, specifically the SDG 4: “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”, specifically mentioning Indigenous peoples and the elimination of gender disparities in education. Unlike previous Millennium Development Goals, SDGs now include a specific goal on gender equality with SDG 5 aiming to “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls”. Amongst its targets, it contains no explicit reference to education but, as Peppen Vaughan (2016, p. 6) explains, “none of the targets in SDG 5 can be achieved without attention to gender equality in education”.

The **American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** (Organization of American States, 2016) addresses comprehensively the content of the SDGs. In terms of education (Art. XV) it declares that “Indigenous boys and girls have the right to all levels and forms of education, without discrimination” and in the Article VII on gender equality it declares that “(s)tates shall adopt, in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, the necessary measures to prevent and eradicate all forms of violence and discrimination, particularly against Indigenous women and children.”

3.2. Inequality in education globally

About two thirds of countries in developing regions have achieved gender parity in primary education. However, the progress has been uneven between regions, countries, different geographical areas and population groups inside the countries, and even more so, in different educational levels, such as early education or secondary schooling. Indeed, in Southern Asia and Latin America, parity in enrolment rates has already been achieved (Andersen, 2017). While some regions (e.g., sub-Saharan Africa) still strive for guaranteeing girls' access to primary education (Sustainable Development Goals, 2017) in Latin America the focus has shifted to secondary education or into more qualitative matters. Secondary schooling is no more understood just as a bridge to tertiary education for the elite but stands as the minimum level of requirement to access the knowledge economy, employment and social life (de la Cruz Flores, 2017, p. 170). Besides the access to secondary schooling, what many countries are still struggling with, is in ensuring the access to education of Indigenous peoples. The report State on World's Indigenous Peoples (UN, 2017) lists several factors that impact the access and hinder the right to education of Indigenous students. Many of these obstacles are related to gender, such as gender-based violence, and early pregnancy, and affect especially Indigenous girls.

According to the 4A model of Tomaševski (2001), the indicator on enrolment rates corresponds to the category of *access*. Access to education is often conditioned by geographical barriers that are differently experienced by girls and boys. In the case of girls, it is the parents that often restrict their access to school due to the distance to the educational institution because the long journey to school is believed to put the girls in danger. Violence against girls in and around schools is pervasive throughout the world and reflects gender norms and unequal power dynamics of the society. According to UNGEI and UNESCO (2015), this situation prevents achieving quality and equality in education and is a considerable obstacle to girls' access to education. This condition is true especially for teenage girls in the countryside who often face a much longer school journey because secondary schools are few and often situated far from villages. As a mother manifests in a report by Amnesty: "I don't want [my three teenage girls] to go to school in the city... I'm worried that if they were out, it would not be safe... someone would kidnap them and take their virginity." (Amnesty International 2008, pp. 14-15). Indeed, the fear for their security is reality for girls around the world. The long distances and the lack of

safety in the school journey oblige the parents to choose between providing their children transport to school, exposing them to safety issues or denying them educational opportunity. Many families choose to prioritize the education of their sons, which reduces girls' attendance and raises their dropout numbers.



Image 3. Aymara adolescent boys assist classes in José Carlos Mariátegui secondary school. Save the Children Peru, 2015.

Despite the challenges, the worldwide number of children not assisting school has dropped drastically and many more girls are in school than ever before (Peppen Vaughan 2016, p. 6), largely thanks to the international legislation - conventions and agreements such as the MDGs (see chapter 3.1) - and their trickling-down into national legislations. However, according to UNESCO (2018, p. 5), there are still over 60 million children globally that do not go to school, with some 54% being girls.

As the Global Education Monitoring Report (2018a) states, girls continue being those who are deprived of education, especially in pre-primary and secondary levels, whereas, in many countries, boys are at greater risk of failing to progress and dropping out. When considering education completion rates globally, 94.3% of children completed primary education, but only 58.7% completed secondary school. However, in secondary education boys' completion rate was clearly lower than that of girls (53.1%). In the tertiary level, however, there

are currently more girls than boys enrolled since 2001, meaning that there are now more women than men attending universities worldwide (Andersen, 2017). In the light of this data, it is even more evident that we need a broader spectrum of indicators and also qualitative information in order to understand what gender inequality means in the area of education, how it is constructed and reflected in children's lives, what the reality hiding behind the figures might be, and why the discrimination and inequality against women in education is so persistent – especially in certain indicators, and despite decades of hard work in favour of equality in education.

In terms of *availability* of education (provision of service), one of the key issues to consider is the cost of education, which brings out another discriminatory situation for girls. Even if the education was formally free, the financial costs associated with schooling, such as school uniforms, books, stationery, transportation costs, the children's own maintenance or the reduction of family income because of sending the children to school may be a considerable economic burden to the families and often has a gendered impact. As Global Campaign for Education (GCE) points out, this often requires children to take alternative coping mechanisms in order to make education services available for them, and leads the adolescents to combine education with paid work. This, in turn, puts them at the risk of being exploited.

Besides the expenses, also the material school environment is strongly gendered. How the use of space in and outside the classroom is reserved and consigned to different genders is another aspect to consider when analysing equality of education. The availability of adequate (separate) sanitation facilities is just one example of meaningful, gendered spaces. The lack of separate, adequate toilets increases the probability of girls missing classes and finally dropping out. Besides that, the lack of separate toilets increases vulnerability to and fear of sexual assault and violence, and the risk of teenage pregnancies. However, there is wide evidence also of other forms of gendered use of school environment and of how schools regulate and uphold gender norms by disproportionately favouring boys' activities and performance over the girls' through the spatial organization of the classroom and of school premises, such as the yard (see e.g., Eder & Parker, 1987; Kågesten et al., 2016; Swain, 2000). Acker (2003), Castillo and Gamboa (2013, p. 7) talk of gender as a “major organizing principle in education”. It is a preconceived attribute that applies to uniforms, curricular subjects, administrative practices, class activities, use of space etc. and has a steering, re-gendering and discriminative effect.

Finally, to have a complete picture of equality in education, it is important to take into consideration the teachers and teaching material. They enable availability, but also *acceptability* of education, as we also have to take into consideration the quality of the teachers and the materials and ensure that the teaching staff is qualified, has received sensitization and training in mainstreaming gender, and has the appropriate teaching materials to do so. GCE (2012) reports that not only is there a lack of female teachers in certain higher levels of education, which is a significant element when it comes to making education more acceptable for girls, but the ‘hidden curriculum’ reinforces the discriminated role of girls through the methodologies used by the teachers and the pedagogical contents, chosen based on the assumptions they have on boys vs. girls. Through the hidden curriculum, various gender-based stereotypes are reproduced and reinforced within the classroom, especially in the ways in which teachers relate to female and male students and in the types of participation promoted for girls and boys during classes. This practice, as already mentioned in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, limits the benefits girls can obtain from the educational opportunities.

Besides the didactic learning materials used in teaching, it is important to monitor the content of curriculum frameworks as a way of holding governments accountable. The national curriculum, and the possible regional adaptations, should explicitly address gender. However, research reveals that in less than 15% of countries’ curriculum frameworks integrate key terms such as gender empowerment, gender parity or gender-sensitivity, while only half mention gender equality (GEM Report, 2017). In Peru the approval of the implementation of gender equality approach in the National Curriculum of Basic Education (MINEDU, 2017) was a huge round win in the struggle for equality in the Peruvian schools. However, the implementation is still staggering, and the protests against it continue, which clearly shows that the mainstreaming taken forth on the policy level, does not always lead to real results.

In terms of the *adaptability* of education, the right for education of vulnerable groups such as pregnant girls, teenage mothers and working teenagers must be respected and specifically addressed. In Latin America and the Caribbean, between 67 and 89% of adolescent mothers do not attend school, and those who are already mothers have, approximately two to three years of less education than those who haven’t had children. 13% of adolescent girls between the ages of 12 and 18 abandon their studies because of maternity, responsibilities for

housework, and unpaid care (Asencios 2018, p. 8). In many countries, especially in the developing world, teenagers are obliged to start working at a very early age. In the case of boys, they may work on the streets doing random small business whereas the girls often work as household maids, on the fields in the countryside or simply taking care of their siblings and fulfilling the role of the child's main caretaker while their parents are working. Most researchers agree that “school dropout and grade repetition among girls are explained primarily by early family responsibilities placed mostly on girls, while boys mostly drop out in order to join the paid labour market, or simply leave school” (Montaño, 2004, p. 32). Indeed, according to a comparative research conducted by Kågesten et al., (2016, p. 10) the results from Latin America revealed a heightened perception of young adolescents considering that boys and men should be able to economically provide for their families. According to Ketterer Romero (2008), this vision is often emphasized by school which, through the hidden curriculum and the options offered to children, reproduces and maintains the patriarchal vision of women being in charge of the burden of reproduction and the men of production.

Even though we have previously mentioned that more and more girls worldwide enjoy tertiary studies, it seems that this does not translate into better labour market insertion, in a reduction of the wage gap between women and men, or in greater decision-making equality. According to ECLAC (2004, p. 32) this means that education has only a slight impact on redistributing family responsibilities, equalizing power relations in the society, and in eliminating the values and prejudices that lead to discrimination. Or better said, maybe this suggests that in order to have a better picture of the dynamics of gender inequality in education, we need to use multiple variables and especially more qualitative indicators that reflect the gender equality and the consideration of gender approach in education infrastructure, social relations in school, curricula, textbooks, teacher preparation, learning outcomes etc.

When analysing the hidden curriculum as part of a baseline study of a SC project in Colombia it was found that diverse gender-based stereotypes are reproduced and reinforced within the classroom, specifically in the ways in which teachers relate to female and male students and in the types of participation promoted in women and men in class. Situations were reported in which teachers made use of a teaching methodology that did not promote students’

learning in certain subjects because of their gender and that there was use of sexist content and language during the class (Asencios 2018, p. 16).

All the previously mentioned situations of inequality expressed in terms of Tomaševski's 4A categorization result in unequal learning outcomes and, at the same time, unequal opportunities later in life. The striking disparity in learning outcomes between boys and girls has been widely documented by different assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (See OECD, 2018), both in the developed and developing countries. Extensive global data demonstrates a widespread, alarming male underachievement in language learning. In all evaluated Latin American countries, girls' performance exceeded those of boys and all participating countries faced a similar challenge of improving reading literacy of boys. When considering gender differences in mathematics, 4 out of 12 participating countries demonstrated gender differences in learning outcomes, all in favour of boys (Ma, 2008, pp. 16-21). The systematic differences in students' achievement can be assumed to be related to the above-mentioned unequal educational opportunities in terms of adaptability, accessibility, availability and acceptability.

3.3. Research questions and justification

The purpose of this master's thesis is to give an overview of gender equality in education in the Peruvian context, a country characterized by pronounced gender inequality (see e.g., World Bank, 2020), and to examine as a case study a particular project in the country program of Save the Children (SC) Peru. My aim is to analyse how gender approach is mainstreamed, both institutionally and in the project cycle, whether the practice of gender mainstreaming is effective or if it remains on the level of rhetoric and to determine which of the different phases of gender mainstreaming should be given more attention in order to achieve more effective use of gender mainstreaming (GM) and fulfil the goals of SC as an organization. I take the project "Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education" as a case study to examine the application of the approach within the SC education program.

As a result of the study I aim to give more insight on how SC Peru country office (CO) could focus more on gender mainstreaming in the light of its current priorities, policies and needs as well as those of the beneficiaries. This is relevant not only for the SC Peru itself but for the whole field of development cooperation NGOs (DNGOs), where similar studies are scarce and focus only on policy-level or on specific projects. My intention, on the contrary, is to study the phenomenon on a larger scale; passing from the policy and organizational level to a particular project. This master's thesis thus follows the logic of "from global to local". On the other hand, case studies done on gender mainstreaming in educational projects in Latin America are few, and especially so with Indigenous populations as beneficiaries. Thus, the relevance of my study also lies in the fact that the studies performed in the Global South on gender mainstreaming rarely enter the Western scholarly canon. Indeed, a multinational review of academic research on adolescents' gender attitudes conducted by Kågesten et al. (2016) demonstrated that ninety percent of studies found were from North America or Western Europe. While searching peer reviewed publications for this study in diverse databases, it soon became clear that case studies on the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Latin America, and especially Peru, are few.

My overarching research question is "What is the state of gender equality in education in Peru?" and the additional questions I pose to help me answer it are: i) Do legal instruments address gender equality and attempt to mainstream gender? ii) How does the country programme of Save the Children Peru address gender mainstreaming? and iii) How does the project "Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education" mainstream gender?

4. METHODOLOGY

My thesis is a qualitative case study. The data for it consists of governmental populational data and normative documents (from census to legal and policy documents), literature on inequality in education (such as reports by international NGOs and development cooperation organizations as well as peer reviewed academic publications) and institutional documents of Save the Children International. The gathered data was analysed using interpretive analysis.

4.1. Interpretive analysis

Interpretive analysis conceives the social world as a basis for diverse interpretations and thus the phenomena, our discourse, the policies and the resulting actions that are carried out require sense-making (Yanow, 2005). As Yanow (p. 2) explains, interpretive analysis takes into consideration a wide range of language, which may include “not only the written language of the policy itself but also the spoken and written language of committee debates and testimony, implementing agencies' multiple forms of documents (annual reports, correspondence, etc.), and interviews”. This is consistent with the data used in this study. Interpretive analysis aims to involve the stakeholders in the dialogue of research, making them active participants in inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013), as was done through the interviews with NGO staff members in this study. As Creswell (2006, 5) has noted, referring to Deem (2002), “interpretive research involves using issues, language, and approaches to research that empower the participants, recognize their silenced voices, honour their individual differences, and position both the researcher’s and the participant’s views in a historical/personal/political context”. As the purpose of this master’s thesis was to define if the use of gender mainstreaming as a concept and an approach in written documents and in interviewees’ discourse leads to specific actions, this approach was considered appropriate.

Following Yanow’s (2000) lead on the practice of conducting interpretive analysis, categorization was made to analyse the general contents of the data by categorizing it into topics identified based on Tomaševski’s 4A framework. The data was then close-read by using monitoring tools developed by SC. As Yanow (2005, p. 8) explains, “by making a close

“reading” of the categories a society collectively constructs in and through its public policies and administrative practices, the policy analyst can make those ideas more explicit” as well as understandable. The following monitoring tools were used in the analysis: "Check List - Gender Mainstreaming the Strategic Planning Phase", the "Check List - Gender Mainstreaming the Proposal Development and Project Design phase", and a "Check List - Gender Mainstreaming in the Implementation phase" (Duplessis et al., 2014b, pp. 62, 67 & 72). In practice this meant that the topics presented in the SC monitoring tools as institutional focus areas for gender analysis were identified both from the legal documents, SC strategic documents and the AABFBE project documents. The monitoring tools are annexed in this thesis (Appendices 5-7).

I took as a premise that “language does not explain the world as much as it produces it” (Dunn & Neumann, 2016, p. 2) which is why the mere existence of the pre-identified topics in my data was considered an indication of a certain purpose (gender mainstreaming), since texts and the messages they carry, contain a purpose. These purposes are linked to social or political practices and are “preconditions for action” (pp. 3 & 4). This purpose was considered as evidence of the *GM terminology and policy* level suggested by Moser (2005). Project management and evaluation documents and interviews were then used as evidence of how gender mainstreaming is actually put into practice (phases 2 and 3 by Moser, 2005, on *practical GM measures* and on *evaluation and auditing*). Communicative excerpts were arranged by themes and actors. Common themes were selected and those that were missing or lacked emphasis were identified, in order to evaluate and draw conclusions on how the SC educational program, project cycle and the case study mainstream gender. In the case of the interviews, the transcription included only the textual content of the words spoken and no paralinguistic features were taken into consideration. The analysis and conclusions were then elaborated as a synthesis of the results deriving from all the used sources. Some direct excerpts from the interviews are used in this paper, as typical for a qualitative study.

4.2. Interviews

My primary data, however, were interviews with Save the Children (SC) Peru staff members. According to the initial research plan of this case study, four semi structured interviews were performed with key staff members, that are responsible for the organization’s

institutional management, gender approach and its education sector. The interviews were performed with Save the Children Peru country director, the manager of SC Peru education program, the coordinator for monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEAL), and the regional gender advisor for SC in Latin America and Caribbean (LAC).

Interviews are considered to be a key method of qualitative research as they allow for direct interaction with the informants and make data collection more flexible. They also allow for easier interpretation of the responses in comparison to questionnaires and give the researcher the possibility of posing additional questions to help understand the topic better and to clarify the information during the interview (Hirsjärvi, Remes & Sajavaara 2009, pp. 204-207.) Unfortunately, one of the programmed interviews (of the education program manager) was cancelled due to a natural catastrophe experienced in Peru at the time of the data collection. In March 2017 Peru experienced a natural emergency caused by the El Niño phenomenon. More than 1,5 million Peruvians were affected, amongst them 162 died, due to mudslides, floods of rivers and intense rains. As a result, Save the Children launched an extensive humanitarian response to help the affected populations meet their basic needs, which required intense involvement of the staff. The cancelled interview was replaced by an email from the interviewee with short answers to the preliminary interview frame questions that had already been sent to her prior to the programmed Skype meeting. This data was complemented with the revision of internal project documents provided by Save the Children Peru. The analysed project documents consisted of the project proposal, baseline study, logical framework, annual project reports and one unpublished study conducted as part of the project on the phenomenon of school dropout of Aymara adolescents, with special focus on girls. To further complement the gathered data, one more interview was later conducted in order to enrich the study with information on the monitoring and evaluation of the SC education projects.

The interviews were conducted via Skype in April and November 2017, each one lasting between 40 and 75 minutes. An interview frame with the questions to be asked was sent by email to all interviewees beforehand (Appendices 1-4). All interviews were recorded, with prior permission of the interviewees, and fully transcribed.

4.3. Institutional policy documents of Save the Children

4.3.1. Global strategy

Save the Children's 2016-2018 strategic plan *Building a better world for and with children* encompasses the global strategy *Ambition for Children 2030* which aims at ensuring that all children survive, learn and are protected. The strategy focuses on reaching the most deprived and marginalised children excluded due to poverty, geography, gender, ethnicity or disability. This is done using a theory of change that urges the organization to *be the voice, be the innovator, achieve results at scale*, and *build partnerships* or, in other words be a force for change on different stages to improve the position of the vulnerable and achieve maximum impact for children (Save the Children 2016, p. 3). Taking especially into consideration the gender approach in the theory of change and applying it through it, would translate into *being the voice*, advocating and campaigning for better practices and policies to support gender equality; *being innovator* by identifying and addressing the root causes of gender inequalities; *achieving results at scale* by promoting gender equality across the organization using gender-sensitive organizational policies and practices; and *building partnerships* by collaborating with government, private sector, and civil society organizations to identify and implement best-practice solutions for overcoming inequalities that affect the rights of girls and boys (Duplessis et al, 2014a, p. 7). Gender is thus thoroughly mainstreamed in SC global strategy. Even though it mainly gives equality-level statements, through gender-sensitive organizational policies and practices it also guides towards practical actions on equity-level.

In the global strategy, gender is defined as one of the main reasons for the exclusion of marginalized children and the organization commits to do “whatever it takes” to ensure no girl is left behind. The second breakthrough of the Global strategy aims at ensuring that “*All children learn from a quality basic education*” (Save the Children 2016, p. 6). As the organization states, the only way to ensure all children learn is by reaching those that are the most deprived and marginalized. Save the Children Peru has identified adolescent girls as one of the most marginalized groups that face multiple violations of their rights in terms of education, protection and health and that do not have a voice in Peruvian society. Adolescent girls have a central role in the SC Peru current Country Strategic Plan (Save the Children Peru, 2016), and its recent global campaign “Habla por Ella” (Speak for her) focused on reducing adolescent pregnancies,

which is one of the prominent reasons for school dropout amongst adolescent girls in Peru. Up until recently, all the projects of Save the Children Peru, worked with rural and Indigenous adolescents, which are considered the most vulnerable populations. With the current Venezuelan migratory crisis, however, another new beneficiary group has been adopted among the priority focus populations.

4.3.2. Global strategy on education

Aligned with the general global strategy, the strategy of SC in the field of education defines as the main beneficiary group the most marginalized children focusing on those boys and girls who are deprived of quality learning opportunities and have the poorest learning outcomes. Since Peru has one of the poorest learning outcomes in the region (see Chapter 5.2) there is plenty of work to be done. Children's Education Strategic Direction 2016-2018 outlines that the organization will prioritise in its work the most marginalized children - those living in poverty, that are suffering from exclusion or discrimination because of their gender, have a disability or are affected by humanitarian crises. All these apply in Peru, as the projects of the Peru CO are implemented with poor populations, the gender-based violence and discrimination are pervasive, the country is prone to emergencies due to climatic and natural disasters, such as the emergency that took place during the data collection of this master's thesis; and it is currently affected by a massive migratory crisis. In the case of Peru, adolescent mothers and Indigenous groups have been identified as the population groups most in need.

4.3.3. Save the Children's policy on gender equality

“For Save the Children, gender equality refers to the absence of discrimination on the basis of sex or gender” (Save the Children, 2017, p. 4) and means ensuring that “all human beings – women, men, girls and boys – are considered equal and treated equally in terms of their rights, obligations and opportunities” (Sheahan, 2009, p. 7). In its Principles for gender equality (Duplessis et al., 2014a, p. 2) Save the Children (Save the Children, 2017, p. 1) envisions a world where “both girls and boys are safe from harm, where they are equally heard and valued,

and where they have equal access and time to devote to education, to work, to rest, and to play.” According to the policy on gender equality, different genders must be equally recognized, respected and valued for their diverse capacities and potential as individuals and members of society.

Through its work, Save the Children provides support to different duty-bearers that are responsible for guaranteeing that the rights of each and every child are met. SC works to hold states accountable for their obligations under the CRC and to support them in ensuring the rights of children and promoting gender equality. Thus, one of the main duties of Save the Children Peru is to lift equality in education on the government agenda, which has actively been done in the past years.

The organization classifies interventions into four different categories according to the degree to which gender equality is promoted:

1. *Gender exploitative* interventions take advantage of existing imbalances in power to achieve program objectives, but negatively affect gender equality and may lead to further exploitation of the already discriminated gender. These unwanted effects are in many cases unconsciously produced.
2. *Gender unaware* interventions are designed without taking into consideration the specific needs of girls, boys, women, or men. They may inadvertently reinforce gender inequalities and miss opportunities in program design, implementation, and evaluation to enhance gender equality and achieve more impactful and sustainable project outcomes.
3. *Gender sensitive* interventions ensure the different needs, abilities, and opportunities of girls, boys, women, and men are identified, considered, and accounted for.
4. *Gender transformative* interventions utilize a gender sensitive approach and promote gender equality, while working with key stakeholders to identify, address, and positively transform the root causes of gender inequality for women and men, girls, and boys.

All programs of Save the Children are expected to be as a minimum standard *gender sensitive* and ideally *gender transformative* (Save the Children, 2017, p. 5).

As the recently revised Save the Children's Policy on Gender Equality expresses, the rigid socialisation, based on the traditional reinforcement of gender roles, limits the ability of boys and girls to reach their full potential and inhibits the full realisation of their rights. Since the main objective of SC is to ensure that all children can enjoy their rights and meet their potential, it considers essential to address gender inequality and ensure that boys and girls do not face discrimination and have equal access to, among others, education. The organization promotes activities to enhance girls' self-esteem, their information and knowledge about their rights, and their participation in activities and decisions that affect their lives and that, at the same time, enhance their access to platforms and scenarios that enable their personal empowerment, development and participation in decision making. The policy also emphasizes the role of boys in thriving towards gender equality and it sees them as an integral part of both the problem and of the solution. In order to challenge the root causes of gender discrimination and reach real sustainable change in values, it is critical that men and boys are involved in this process of change. As one of the transformative working methods the boys are given the opportunity to explore their own gender identities and conceptions of what it means to be male, as well as ideas about gender equality.

Both based on the strong presence of GM in SC policies and on the mere existence of a separate specific policy for GM indicates that the organization takes gender seriously as a variable that produces discrimination. The policy priorities indicate a strong commitment to the cause and we can see that the project "AABFBE" is aligned with the Policy on Gender Equality of the organization. The approach of the organization is not to focus on eradicating undesirable aspects but rather to promote the rights and empower. As Sheahan Frances (2009, p. 13) states, "experience has taught us that it is important to focus on the positive aspects of social values and norms and use them to challenge the negative values".

Mainstreaming gender is one of the key tools of the SC Policy on Gender Equality, and it must be applied to all institutional programs and projects. Both Tomaševski's 4 A's and Moser's GM stages can be helpful when figuring out how to mainstream gender into a project and how to assess its quality. As we mainstream gender, we must ensure the (a) availability and access to education for each child, and (b) guarantee the quality of education through acceptability and adaptability. When assessing implementation of GM, Moser's theory guides us to take into consideration three stages: policy and rhetoric, implementation, and evaluation. Both

Tomaševski and Moser have a progressive approach in their theory, meaning that the level of reaching towards equality intensifies as moving from quantitative categories (availability and access) to qualitative categories (acceptability and adaptability); and from rhetorical level to practice and evaluation. They can thus be compared to SC differentiation from gender sensitive to gender transformative. As the Policy on Gender Equality (2009, p. 17) expresses, “if schools can provide girls and boys with the tools to question their gender roles and responsibilities and devise strategies to overcome disparities, then transformation can take place”.

4.4. Validity of the results and ethical considerations

As a researcher I am aware that my cultural and experiential background, as well as my biases, values, and ideologies affect the data and its interpretation (see Fisch & Ness, 2015, p. 1411). Knowledge, and the production of knowledge, is largely related to and dependent on our position in the social world, the environment we’ve grown and lived in, our previous experiences, values and positions, and consequently the choices we make. Unfortunately, it is impossible for a researcher to escape his or her reality and position. As many scholars, especially feminist researchers, have pointed out, we must be attentive of our own positions, to the context and power structures, and adopt a relational approach to sense-making and knowledge production, which links theoretical insights to the observation of the social world. According to Haritaworn (2008, p. 2), the “call to positionality urges us to reflect on where we stand, to define our speaking positions and how they relate to others, especially those whom we claim to speak for.” It is therefore pivotal to reflect on my own positionings and to express them transparently to the readers of this study because there is always a reason – a reason for choosing a research topic, a reason for choosing the method, and a reason for the decisions we take during the analysis and in the writing process.

In this regard, even though subjectivity is often perceived as a negative quality in a researcher, I argue that a researcher can never be entirely objective. Indeed, my own worldview, experience, life path and points of interest have strongly directed the research topic, the geographical location of the case, as well as the choice of methodologies and the approach. Hadn't I ended up working for the past ten years in development cooperation in Peru, this research had probably never been done, or my research questions, decisions on how to conduct

it would be very different. I am also aware that being myself a white researcher having gone through Western education system and having grown in a society with certain Western gender norms also inevitably affects my views and research results. Therefore, the same study, done by somebody else, would probably have a slightly different focus and also different results. Villarreal Larrinaga (2017, p. 155), has gone further by asking if it is even desirable for a researcher to be objective? According to him “(a)ll researchers have received specific training; they carry their own personal scientific baggage and have their own individual talents. Together, these factors combine to make every researcher ‘subjective’; it is a quality which cannot –and should not– be eliminated. What is at issue is not the researchers’ subjectivity, but their ‘honesty’”.

My personal motivations for this master’s thesis arise from the fact that while living in Peru for the past ten years I have experienced the inequalities (especially based on gender), in everyday life, in educational settings and in my profession while working in development cooperation. This sparked a strong need for exploring the causes, consequences and possible solutions for the present situation of persistent gender inequalities. My aim in this study has been to reveal more of the reality where I live, and of the causalities behind one of the main challenges in the Peruvian society, which affects the developmental opportunities of millions of children, the social dynamics and policies of the nation, these often affecting the girls more harshly. However, research is never done in a completely altruistic manner but the researcher always has their own motivations. Mine is to grow professionally and to continue working in an area that I feel passionate about.

According to Lund (2014, p. 224) “A case is an edited chunk of empirical reality where certain features are marked out, emphasized, and privileged while others recede into the background. As such, a case is not “natural,” but a mental, or analytical, construct aimed at organizing knowledge about reality in a manageable way”. Therefore, the participants (as well as the different researchers) may experience the cases differently, and that is why their view may differ from that of the researcher. Each of them is influenced by their background, the context they are immersed in and the discourse they have been exposed to. In the same way, each research is limited and can only focus on a “chunk of empirical reality”. A researcher can never address all the reality in question, neither can she or he talk to, or get data from, everybody

in the studied group. Hence, it is inevitable to do generalization from some observations to the group (Lund, 2014, p. 226). My research focuses on one particular case amongst a diverse span of educational development projects, and it is therefore impossible to draw completely objective conclusions of gender mainstreaming in a wider perspective. However, as noted earlier, when compared with the SC country program and the view of the key staff members considering other educational projects, we reach the understanding of the larger phenomenon and of how it represents meaningful constructs and realities of a particular setting. Most importantly, the results of the study rely not only on self-reported attitudes and opinions of the staff members but take into consideration also the policy and legal background, as well as other studies and evaluations done on the same project.

At the same time, even when my thesis takes an institutional perspective; with the main point of view of multilateral agencies and an international NGO - analysing their policies and declarations, I am painfully aware of the coloniality of academia and of the fact that the scholarly canon is blatantly Eurocentric. Connell (2017, p. 6) defines the phenomenon as the ‘global economy of knowledge’ and explains that as the metropole produces, collates and processes data, producing theory (including methodology), and developing applications that are later exported to the periphery, the role of the periphery (or the Global South) is reduced into supplying data, and later applying the data produced by the West. As Smith (2012, p. 1) has claimed, Western researchers assume to “know all that it is possible to know” of the Global South, “on the basis of their brief encounters”. Thus, most of the ‘valid’ scholarly work is produced in the West. I have noticed this situatedness of academia while gathering data for this study, as the scarcity of studies done on the topic of gender mainstreaming in educational projects amongst Indigenous populations, and especially knowledge produced in Global South, by Southern scholars was evident. I especially encountered a lack of bibliography on the Peruvian context, and of the so-called ‘valid bibliography’ which would enter the Western/Euro-American canon of academic research. This is why my research relies heavily on the performed interviews and combines different kinds of data, attempting to complement Western academic canon also with locally produced knowledge. On the other hand, I am aware that the voice of the beneficiaries is missing in the study and that ideally the Aymara adolescents, indigenous peoples and representatives of local women should have been asked how they experienced gender mainstreaming in the project. Unfortunately, it was not possible to reach the beneficiaries

for this study and therefore this thesis mostly proposes the voice of external cooperation employees.

Despite the ethical questions that have been tormenting me during the process of writing this master's thesis I believe that by fulfilling the requirements of transparency, complying with the standard research ethics, being faithful to one's values and reflecting the information with the research participants one can reach high quality research, and ultimately meet the requirement of its validity. In this master's thesis, to comply with ethical research practices, a genuine consent was asked from all the interviewees to use the information they provided. They were given the opportunity to revise the draft of the thesis and their names will not appear in any final report, as suggested by Laws, Harper, & Marcus (2011, pp. 264-265). To conclude, I believe that being open about one's positionality is one of the crucial researcher's responsibilities, and one of the most important criteria of ethical research. Indeed, Kant (in Lund, pp. 214 & 226) argues that "rather than insisting that our cognition reflects "real" objects, we may try to see "real" objects as conforming to our cognition. That is, we "see" things through a lens of a priori concepts formed through experience".

5. PRESENTATION OF THE CASE STUDY

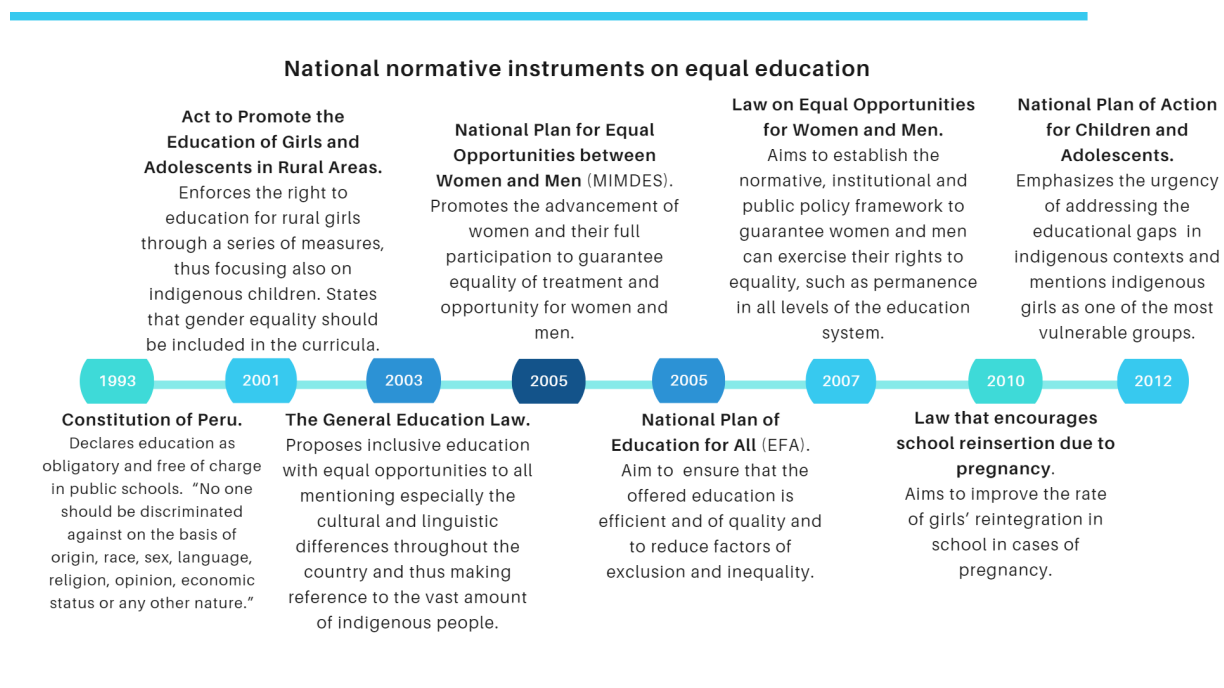
As a preamble to my case study I take a look at the set of national legal instruments that enshrine the right and equality of education, in my case study country, Peru, and I reflect the role of gender in them. These are presented as the input of the key stakeholder – the Peruvian Government – of how it has contributed or is contributing to mainstreaming gender. I will then move on to shed light on the situation of inequality in education in Peru and how, despite legislative progress, educational systems are not exempt from discriminatory practices, situations and results. Data on inequality in education is presented according to the 4A model of Tomaševski, presented in chapter 2, which then serves as crucial background information allowing us to appraise the situation more comprehensively in relation to the actions taken in terms of the GM stages proposed by Moser (2005).

5.1. National legal instruments - protecting and promoting gender equality in education in Peru

The equality discourse has been present in Peruvian legal instruments already for long time and the 1993 Constitution explicitly set the principle of non-discrimination and equal access to education. Similar to the international setting, it took a rather long time, however, for the Peruvian legislation to adopt gender mainstreaming as a practical and transformative concept, instead of vaguely mentioning the goal of equality. This may be due to the fact that, as a legacy of colonialism, inequality has manifested itself in such a pervasive and multifaceted manner in the Peruvian society that more generic terminology was used since gender was not considered any more important than the other intersecting forms of diversity that called for equality in education. Thus, by mentioning “all individuals without exception” or considering “vulnerable groups” one could note as having considered all populational groups from women, and indigenous peoples to Afro-Peruvians and rural populations. Nevertheless, in the past two decades the progress has been impressive, at least in terms of discourse. This is probably partly due to extensive gender-based violence, as the increasing number of cases that have come to light has lifted the topic on the national agenda and obliged to also take legal measures, such as

the Law that encourages school reinsertion due to pregnancy (No 29600). Figure 2 shows the progress in legal instruments between 1993 and 2012.

Figure 2. Some first national normative instruments on equal education.



Source: Own elaboration.

The concept of gender mainstreaming was not adopted in the Peruvian legislation until in 2012, with the **National Plan for Gender Equality 2012-2017 (PLANIG)**, which proposes to "mainstream gender in public policies, ensure gender equality and effective protection of human rights for women and men, non-discrimination and the full development of their individual and collective potentialities and capacities". Its strategic objective 3 proposes to "reduce educational gaps between women and men" (MIMP, 2012). The renewal of the plan is currently pending.

National Plan for Intercultural Bilingual Education by 2021 (MINEDU, 2016) addresses the Indigenous peoples' right to education in a comprehensive manner and sets a requirement of offering intercultural bilingual education (IBE) to all Indigenous peoples. It does not explicitly address gender equality but specifies that it is based on previous legal instruments

that have already been mentioned in this section and do apply GM. It also declares that “all differential, exclusive or restrictive treatment towards a person or group of people” must be eradicated, naming specifically discrimination based on gender and it consciously uses gender-sensitive language by systematically mentioning both genders.

One of the most polemic normative instruments has been the **National Curriculum of Basic Education** (MINEDU, 2017), which explicitly includes the approach on gender equality with the aim of promoting a society that does not mistreat or subordinate women, but rather respects and sees them as equal with men. The curriculum makes it mandatory to teach about sexual and reproductive rights, abortion and gender orientation. However, after its approval in 2017 fierce protests by groups of parents, as well as conservative and religious organizations led to prohibit the implementation of gender equality approach in March 2018. The case was under the consideration of the Peruvian Supreme Court amidst continuous social unrest until April 2019, when its applicability was finally approved. Shortly after the approval of the National Curriculum of Basic Education and of the implementation of the approach of gender equality in education **National Policy on Gender Equality** (MIMP, 2019) was approved. It addresses “structural discrimination against women as a central problem in the country” and seeks gender justice by modifying legal norms, promoting the participation of women and combating the disadvantages that give rise to the subordination of women. In doing so, it clearly attempts to take GM into a more practical level. Its guideline 6.1 seeks to “develop educational content and strengthen the capacities for the achievement of gender equality in basic education students” (MIMP, 2019).

The effort put forth both by the international community and by the Peruvian state on the legal instruments to guarantee the right to education, and specifically to equal education is noteworthy. A huge leap has been taken especially after the UN decade for women, in raising inequality on the political agendas and concerning some concrete indicators such as improving the enrolment rates. However, both the discourse and the practical measures still seem to focus on the area of equality than of equity (see Baily & Holmansdottir, 2015), and the discourse heavily focuses on descriptive (first two As: availability and accessibility) concepts instead of the qualitative (last two As: adaptability and acceptability). The implementation of these legal instruments and taking the terminology into practice requires concrete and specific plans and

commitments, as well as authorities and education professionals that are capable of making concrete action plans and monitoring their implementation in order to reach the goals that have been set. On the contrary, boys and girls will continue facing harsh inequality in their educational opportunities.

5.2. Inequality in education in Peru

In the last few years there have been a lot of positive achievements in different indicators reflecting the quality of education in Peru, and especially so in terms of universal access to primary education, that has been virtually achieved, at least at the national level, when not considering the disparities between different geographical areas, generally aligned with the presence of Indigenous populations. When considering the four categories defined by Tomaševski (2001), in terms of *access*, both the enrolment rate in basic education and the conclusion rate (often related also to the category of adaptability) have improved greatly in the last decades. As Tomaševski has carefully noted, ‘access’ must be appraised in a wide sense, taking into consideration diverse barriers that may impede girls from assisting classes, even when schooling might be nominally available. Bearing this in mind, table 3 considers assistance rate instead of enrolment since I believe it to reflect the situation of access to education more truthfully. The enrolment rates, on the contrary, tend to show higher figures due to not taking into consideration absenteeism and dropout.

Table 3. Assistance rate in basic education in Peru

| Total assistance rate in basic education in Peru, 2018 (% of the population) | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| | Total | Female | Male |
| National | | | |
| Initial | 91,0 | 91,6 | 90,5 |
| Primary | 95,9 | 95,8 | 96,0 |
| Secondary | 85,4 | 85,0 | 85,9 |
| Urban area total | | | |
| Initial | 91,3 | 92,3 | 90,3 |
| Primary | 95,5 | 95,3 | 95,6 |
| Secondary | 86,9 | 86,7 | 87,1 |
| Rural area total | | | |
| Initial | 90,2 | 89,3 | 90,9 |
| Primary | 97,0 | 97,1 | 97,0 |
| Secondary | 82,1 | 80,9 | 83,2 |

Source: Own elaboration based on the Statistics of Education Quality of the Ministry of Education (MINEDU, 2019a).

As Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate, one remarkable improvement in terms of gender equality in education is that the gap between girls' and boys' access to education has almost disappeared when taking into consideration the quantitative data. This is greatly supported by the fairly well developed Peruvian pro-equality legislation, as explained in Chapter 5.1. The comparative data by the Ministry of Education from the past years demonstrates that girls from younger generations have evermore better access to schooling (See table 3). However, as Guerrero and Rojas (2019) point out, the data hides behind a reality where girls are at a striking disadvantage in terms of access to and completion of schooling when the analysis considers the variables of ethnicity and poverty. As Ames (2013) mentions, rural and Indigenous women assist schooling to a much lesser extent in comparison to their male peers. Table 4 shows that almost 20% of students in rural areas do not conclude primary education and over 45% abandon secondary education. The rural areas are predominantly Indigenous and, when students' ethnicity is considered, gender gaps remain in favour of men (MINEDU, 2019a).

Table 4. Conclusion rate in education in Peru

| Total conclusion rate in education in Peru, 2018 (% of the population) | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| | Total | Female | Male |
| National | | | |
| Primary | 88,8 | 89,4 | 88,3 |
| Secondary | 74,5 | 76,8 | 72,3 |
| Tertiary | 22,1 | 25,1 | 18,9 |
| Urban area | | | |
| Primary | 92,4 | 93,2 | 91,7 |
| Secondary | 80,5 | 82,8 | 78,3 |
| Tertiary | 24,4 | 27,6 | 20,8 |
| Rural area | | | |
| Primary | 80,6 | 80,7 | 80,5 |
| Secondary | 54,8 | 55,2 | 54,4 |
| Tertiary | 9,9 | 10,1 | 9,8 |

Source: Own elaboration based on the Statistics of Education Quality of the Ministry of Education (MINEDU, 2019a).

According to the 2018 school census, in rural areas, 40% of women who withdraw from school do so for domestic reasons. National Girls' Education Network “Red Nacional de Educación de la Niña – Florecer” states that when a girl does not finish primary school in a timely age, it is much more difficult for her to continue to secondary school and higher education. Therefore, rural women over the age of 24 are on average less educated than men and therefore tend to be more poor, vulnerable and excluded from development opportunities in comparison to rural men (Hildebrandt Chávez, 2014). This is the panorama in which our case study of the AABFBE project is implemented.

As Cueto, Felipe, León (2020) state, one of the causes for girls’ dropout is pregnancy, and another one the need to replace the mother in domestic tasks and in taking care of the family. However, also the absence of parents at home and the lack of their commitment and dedication to children’s school life has been defined to cause school dropout. The increasing abandonment of agricultural activities in the rural areas, and the shift of the families into other economic activities, such as mining, have driven the parents to employment further away from their homes. As they search for family sustenance older children are often left in charge of the household. On the other hand, the mining has started to employ ever younger workers, an activity often not adequately regulated. Employment and access to money has increased the possibility for adolescents to consume alcohol or drugs – an activity especially affecting boys (Espinosa & Ruiz, 2017, p. 32 and United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] Peru, 2019).

Availability: Despite the strong budget increase in education during the last government (2011-16), Peru remains in the lowest place among LAC countries in terms of the percentage of GDP earmarked for education (Inversión en la Infancia, 2015), and it is still far from reaching 6% of GDP investment in education, as promised in a National Agreement taken in 2015, in the framework of Education Agenda 2030 of the SDGs. And, as Hugo Ñopo (2018, p. 10) points out, the increase in investment in the education sector, experienced in Peru in recent years, corresponds solely to the growth of its economy and not to a “commitment to education”. We could thus say that the investment is rather rhetoric and factitious than transformative. More investments, specifically earmarked to improve gender equality in education, are needed. These investments may fall into different categories such as prevention of dropout and repetition rates, improvements in teacher training or in infrastructure. Especially, in terms of infrastructure, one of the crucial measures for equality in education is the construction of separate bathrooms since the provision of adequate sanitary services for adolescent girls has several consequences for education. Indeed, this is one of the most called for measures in order to motivate the school attendance of girls, together with policies to ensure security in access to school and greater proportions of female teachers (Vasquez and Monge, 2009 and Global Education Monitoring Report, 2018b). When it comes to teacher proportions we can see that the problem lies especially in rural areas: according to the school census 2018 of the Ministry of Education, gender parity index (proportion of women to men) of the qualified teachers on national level is 1.1 but in rural areas 0.8, meaning that there is a significantly lower proportion of the female than male teachers (MINEDU, 2018).

In terms of *acceptability*, Peru counts with some very positive attempts to adapt education into the diverse needs of the student population in terms of ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences that characterize the country. The General Education Law (Congress of the Republic, 2003) grants to the decentralized instances of the Ministry of Education and to the schools the authority of elaborating diversified curricula that respond to particular regional, cultural and institutional needs and serve local diversity. However, the complexity of the process of diversification has not permitted the institutions to carry it out properly, amongst others, because the teachers aren't given the proper tools for it (Diaz Diaz 2015, p. 27). In addition to this, in 2016 National Plan for Intercultural Bilingual Education by 2021 was approved, which sets as its goals, among others, that at least 67% of Indigenous students complete secondary

school in a timely manner, that 85% of kindergarten and primary schools implement the IBE pedagogical proposal and that 100% of IBE schools have adequate educational materials that are properly used. The goals are ambitious and still far to be reached. Even when there has been a great improvement in the offer of intercultural bilingual education the current cadre of teachers is unable to meet needs as there is not enough well-trained bilingual teachers (UN, 2017, p.112).

In terms of gender equality, the new curriculum, approved in 2016, strengthens the approach on gender equality aiming to promote a society that does not mistreat or subordinate women, but rather respects and sees them as equal with men. The curriculum also makes it mandatory to teach about sexual and reproductive rights, abortion and gender orientation (Global Education Monitoring Report, 2017). The resident coordinator of the United Nations in Peru, recognized the importance of adapting normative tools to the international child rights' standards and the sustainable development goal 4, thus contributing to closing important gaps that generate inequities and adopting GM (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2017). However, the concept of gender and the approach adopted by the curriculum has aroused heavy critics from the conservative sectors claiming that the national curriculum set up by the Ministry of Education is trying to impose an "ideology of gender" (Global Education Monitoring Report, 2017; Gallego & Romero, 2017, p. 8). The Ministry sharply opposed the critiques but was finally obliged to modify the curriculum slightly, whilst defending the position of the importance of an equal gender approach. Even when the implementation of the curriculum was approved by the Peruvian Supreme court, many teachers are hesitant to implement it due to the public resistance or their own prejudices (Guerrero, 2018, p. 50).

When it comes to *adaptability*, Peru counts with two particularly vulnerable groups that need to be taken into consideration in terms of gender equality in education: adolescent mothers and working teenagers. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI, 2018a) 13% of Peruvian adolescents between the ages of 15 and 19 have been mothers or are pregnant. What is especially alarming, is that the rates in Peru have been constantly growing. 45% of these girls are in primary education and only 42% of them conclude their studies (National Registry of Identification and Civil Status, 2016; United Nations Populations Fund [UNFPA], 2019). Even though there is adequate legislation supporting education access, such as Law 29600 that promotes reinsertion into formal education in the case of adolescent pregnancy, it is neither commonly known nor implemented (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2019).

Moreover, without proper practical measures, such as comprehensive education on sexuality and reproductive health, the situation is hardly reversed.

Besides teenage pregnancies, one of the most important reasons for adolescent girls not attending school or dropping out is their dedication to housework. Especially in households with small children there is a greater demand for childcare which is why school-age adolescents living in these households present greater difficulties for study, precisely because they must care for their younger siblings (Vásquez & Monge 2009, p. 43). Additionally, households with greater numbers of children often coincide with greater levels of poverty. A study performed by Save the Children Peru (Barreto, 2017), revealed that the reasons for boys' school dropout are mostly related to greater pressure to assume productive work in order to assist the total family income, due to early paternity, the need of enrolling to military service, or the lack of motivation to remain in an educational model that does not support their needs and interests. Global Education Report (2018a, p. 1) describes the boys' lack of motivation as "disaffection with school and a sense of not belonging to the school community" which results in lower attainment or learning achievement, and functions as a push factor that leads them to the work life. On the other hand, the disadvantages stemming from poverty result in demands of economic sustenance and functions as a pull factor leading the boys to search for work.

Considering the statistics on access and availability it would be easy to conclude that the Peruvian school system is close to reaching gender equality. However, as we already mentioned before, the differences are more qualitative and mostly related to the dimension of acceptability, such as the use of hidden curriculum, as shown in the documentary "Escuela de Silencio" (School of silence), by Hildebrandt Chávez (2014). The documentary demonstrates that girls are condemned into a "silenced role" in the Peruvian school system and that the day-to-day gender inequalities are reproduced in school culture starting from the differentiated distribution of tasks and responsibilities, the use of school space and play, the images and messages in learning materials and the forms of participation promoted in boys and girls.

In many cases, the girls are expected to perform the cleaning of the classroom and school premises, which reinforces the traditional gender roles. Inside the classroom, the domestic tasks (such as distribution of breakfast) are executed by girls and the more intellectual activities (such as reading out loud) are more frequently carried out by boys. In rural schools "it is common for

the boys to occupy the centre of the classroom and for girls to remain relegated to the periphery. There they many times go unnoticed, hidden behind their clothes, avoiding to participate during the classes. During recess, it is the boys who take over the space [...]. The girls, on the other hand, walk in groups, move along the margins, or in many cases only watch the boys play” (Hildebrandt Chávez, 2014).



Image 4. Aymara adolescents' recess in Cesar Vallejo secondary school. Boys tend to take over the space while girls are on the margins. Save the Children Peru, 2015.

Being denied of the opportunity to develop these recreative activities that would have given them the possibility to improve the capacity of taking risk, initiative and competitiveness, the girls are denied of many other essential qualities such as self-esteem, knowledge of and respect for their body, control over their lives, establishment of friendships, and exercise of leadership, self-sufficiency and autonomy, that are equally discouraged in the teachers' discourse and expectations. According to Milligan (2014, p. 473) teachers' attitudes and discourses result in gendered practices in the students themselves, influence their views towards their peers (depending on their gender) and, especially in the case of girls, affect negatively on

their well-being and feelings of self-worth. All this, in turn, reproduces a myriad of gender inequalities at school.

The research led by UNICEF Peru, confirms another global discriminatory bias: textbooks and other learning materials often contribute to making women invisible and reinforce gender inequalities through the large majority of illustrations and narration including men but not female characters. When analysing the teaching materials in the Peruvian basic education, Mena (2018) concluded that 80% of the characters that practice an occupation are men. The options offered for women were noticeably less than for men (1/3) and they tended to reinforce the more “feminine” qualities such as gentleness and submission. However, it is important to point out that education materials and processes must not only refrain from reinforcing gender discrimination, they should actively combat it. Therefore, the new national curriculum, the additional materials, and the programmed training for teachers for its implementation are an important milestone firstly in setting a terminological standard and aiming to change discourse (as stage 1 in Moser’s [2005] categorization) and secondly in implementing concrete actions (stage 2).

Standardized national learning outcomes (see Table 5) reflect how the unequal conditions in the Peruvian school system translate into concrete situations of oppression and demonstrate that Peru still has huge efforts to make. Only about 32,75% of the students reach the satisfactory level of learning outcomes in primary level, and even less (13,85%) in secondary level. Gender-wise the outcomes follow greatly the global trend: the learning outcomes of girls tend to be higher in reading and boys tend to have better results in mathematics. The same phenomenon is seen both in primary and secondary school. A bit over third (36,3%) of the girls achieve the minimum competencies in reading on primary level, outperforming boys by 2,9 percentage points. In mathematics, 32,5,3% of boys reach the minimum satisfactory level of achievements contrasting with the 28,9% reached by girls.

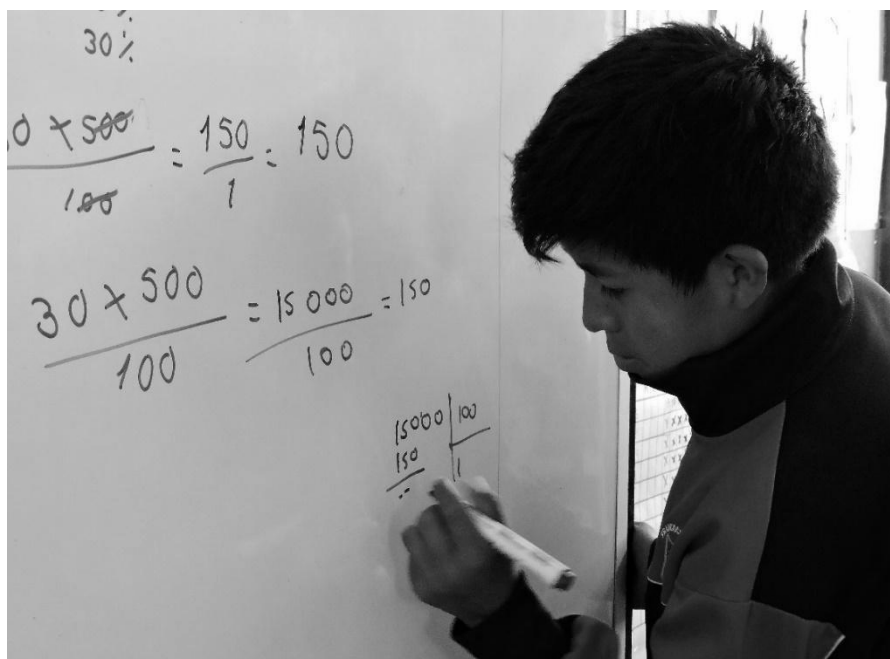


Image 5. Aymara boy participating in maths class. Francisco Bolognesi secondary school, Sacuaya. Save the Children Peru, 2015.

Table 5 shows that during the transition from primary to secondary school a huge number of girls falls into the categories of ‘previous to beginning’ and ‘in the beginning’ with virtually no learning results. In fact, the category of “previous to beginning” had to be adopted in 2016 when the Ministry of Education started to perform census evaluations in secondary education because the student's learning achievements were simply too low for the established evaluation scale. Judging by the proportion of students in the lowest two categories (54,8% in reading and 72,6% in mathematics), we can see that by the time of the evaluation performed in secondary education (second grade) a majority of the girls have not even managed to engage into the expected learning process. The tendency is similar in the case of boys, but less radical. If the schools do not provide the girls with academic or personal competencies that are part of the hidden curriculum, such as self-esteem, their possibilities to succeed in life are low.

Table 5. Students' learning outcomes in primary and secondary education

| Students' census evaluation 2018 - Peru (%) | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | Previous to beginning | In beginning | In process | Satisfactory | Previous to beginning | In beginning | In process | Satisfactory |
| Primary education | Reading achievements | | | | Mathematics achievements | | | |
| National | 10,1 | 24,2 | 30,9 | 34,8 | 9,3 | 19,3 | 40,7 | 30,7 |
| Boys | 11,0 | 25,2 | 30,4 | 33,4 | 9,1 | 18,5 | 39,9 | 32,5 |
| Girls | 9,2 | 23,2 | 31,4 | 36,3 | 9,5 | 20,1 | 41,5 | 28,9 |
| Secondary education | Reading achievements | | | | Mathematics achievements | | | |
| National | 18,5 | 37,5 | 27,7 | 16,2 | 33,7 | 39,3 | 16,9 | 11,5 |
| Boys | 19,3 | 37,9 | 27,5 | 15,3 | 31,5 | 36,2 | 16,5 | 15,8 |
| Girls | 17,8 | 37,0 | 28,0 | 17,2 | 36,0 | 36,6 | 15,2 | 12,3 |

Source: Own elaboration based on the data of the Office of measurement of quality, Ministry of Education Peru (MINEDU, 2018).

5.3. Case study on gender: Save the Children Peru

Case studies are a popular methodology for social science researchers, possibly because they provide an opportunity for an in-depth insight into the properties of a single unit, which then allows us to understand a larger phenomenon, as Gerring (2004, p. 342) has expressed. According to Yin (2018), case study as a research method focuses on rigour, validity, and reliability, and it can capture a broad complexity of a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') "in depth and within its real-world context" (Yin, 2018, p. 16). Case study as an empirical inquiry often uses multiple sources of evidence, trying to capture multiple perspectives and to answer why and how some phenomenon is happening by identifying diverse steps and relationships that constitute causal processes (Gerring, 2004, p. 343). Villarreal Larrinaga has appraised that it is a particularly useful methodology "when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (2017, p. 150).

The phenomenon explored in this master's thesis is how gender is mainstreamed in the country program of Save the Children Peru and one specific project "AABFBE", focusing on the educational opportunities of Indigenous Aymara girls. This organization was chosen for the case study because it is one of the biggest players in the field of development cooperation in

Peru, and it is a recognized organization both internationally and on national level. My interest for this study springs from my several years' experience in educational development projects in Peru and seeing the persistent gender inequalities in the Peruvian society and, especially in terms of education.

Peru

Peru is a highly multicultural country. It has the second largest Indigenous population in Latin America after Mexico (Freire, 2015) and, according to the latest census, approximately 13% of the population speak Indigenous languages, roughly 30% of the total population define themselves as Indigenous, and 60% as mestizo (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics [INEI], 2018c). Currently there are 55 recognized Indigenous or native peoples living in Peru, 51 of which are originally from the Amazon and 4 from the Andes (Ministry of Culture, 2020a). Co-existence of a large number of different cultures shapes prevalent gender discourses as well as institutional cultures and routines and requires specific attention both from education services and development cooperation practices. At the same time, the Indigenous groups often experience the strongest gender gaps, for example in terms of educational attainment (Ministry of Education [MINEDU], 2019b).

Over the past decade, Peru has been one of the region's fastest-growing economies, with poverty rates steadily falling (World Bank, 2019). However, according to a recent study by Oxfam (Mendoza Nava, 2019), the fight against inequality in Peru has stagnated in the last two years, and, despite the great opportunity provided by the economic growth, it was largely wasted. The old exclusions and barriers are largely still standing, and the country has staged in the fight against inequality. This inequality is reflected in multiple manners – between genders, regions, social classes and cultural or ethnic groups. Indeed, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has expressed that one of the biggest problems in Peru is the persistent inequality of the education system due to socioeconomic reasons, gender, rurality and mother tongue (OECD, 2016). Indeed, the achievement gap between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous children in Peru is particularly pronounced and difficult to disentangle (Arteaga, 2019, p. 81), which means that in the rural areas, where most of the Indigenous families live, children rarely achieve the learning goals set by the national curriculum – and especially so in the case of girls. Indeed, gender-based discrimination tends to intersect with other individual

characteristics such as poverty, ethnicity, indigeneity or race. Delprato (2019) refers that the educational inequality is largely related to the societal inequality: as Indigenous populations grow amidst widespread discrimination and constrained, low-quality schooling opportunities, they grow to doubt their own potential, resulting in the parents' lower educational expectations towards their children in comparison to non-Indigenous population. The daily school experience for Indigenous children in Peru "entails constant messages that undervalue or neglect their culture and language and their very identity as Indigenous children" (Ames, 2012, p. 282).

Save the Children

Save the Children is an international non-governmental organization (INGO) that was established in 1919 in the United Kingdom, in the aftermath of World War I, to alleviate the suffering of children. It works in 120 countries providing support for health, education, protection, and disaster relief, with a focus on the most deprived and marginalized children (Save the Children, 2019). Save the Children's work is founded upon the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which is the guiding framework and reference point for its work (Save the Children 2014). The right to non-discrimination is one of the key principles of the CRC, and especially Article 2 specifies that the rights of the child must be respected and ensured without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's sex, amongst other characteristics. This principle is the basis for the policy of gender equality of Save the Children as well as for the project "AABFBE".

Save the Children has operated in Peru for more than 30 years and currently has projects in 13 regions in the areas of health, education, child protection, risk and disaster management (RDM) and humanitarian response. Even though gender is considered as the main transversal approach for the organization, it has also been increasingly adopted as the main focus of the projects. However, in recent years there has been a strong shift towards RDM and humanitarian response due to the topicality of climate change and the migratory crisis of Venezuela (Save the Children Peru, 2020).

Project "Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education"

The project "Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education" (in Spanish: Adolescentes Aimara Construyendo su Futuro desde una Mejor Educación) was implemented by Save the Children in the Moquegua Region, Mariscal Nieto Province, Peru between 2015 and 2018. The aim of the project was to improve the access, completion and quality of secondary education. The project was implemented in coordination with local education and health authorities in ten rural Andean communities situated in altitudes up to 4000m above sea level. The population in the project area lives mainly from subsistence farming, herding and from labouring as workforce for mining, which has in recent decades changed the income structure of the communities and caused migration both inside the region and from the neighbouring regions. The project was financed by a mining company operating in the area as part of their social responsibility activities, and its ultimate purpose was to reduce the adverse effects of the environment and the social context into the lives of the secondary school adolescents, especially girls, and give them tools for life. (Save the Children Peru, 2017).

The possibility of collaborating with an extractive company was widely discussed in Save the Children during the planning phase of the project, and also the international SC member, responsible for Peru CO was consulted when deciding whether to collaborate with a mining company or not. Even when the organization is aware of the ethical problem involved, it was seen as a possibility of improving the social corporate responsibility (SCR) practices of the company and directing its SCR activities towards the same priorities as those of Save the Children. Taking into consideration the diminished funding on development cooperation in Latin America in the past years, which has obliged DNGOs to fight for their existence, and the fact that the presence of the mining company will remain in the region – as well as its SCR activities – the decision is understandable. However, from a development scholar's point of view, the grave ethical problem related to extractive activities remains, and social corporate responsibility as funding a project is an insufficient tool compared to their devastation of the environment and territoriality of Indigenous peoples. The population in the area has mixed feelings of the mining activity. Living in a precarious situation they welcome the work and income opportunity but, at the same time, they have experienced the harmful effects of mining on the environment (AABFBE project baseline, 2016).

The population in the project implementation area is predominantly of Aymara origin. Aymara is an Andean Indigenous nation spread on the Altiplano — a vast windy plateau of the central Andes in Peru and Bolivia — and with smaller numbers in Argentina and Chile. It is one of the 76 ethnic groups in Peru and existed long before the Inca empire. According to the National Household Survey (INEI, 2018b), 3.2% of the current population in Peru (corresponding to approximately 1 million people) considers themselves Aymara either according to ancestral or cultural reasons, while 450,010 has Aymara as their native language (Ministry of Culture, 2020b). The tasks and functions in the Aymara communities are traditionally assigned according to one's gender and, thus, in agricultural and livestock activities, it is the men who are generally in charge of preparing the land and harvesting the products; while women take care of planting the fields, selecting the products and preparing food. In livestock, the man shears the cattle, while the woman is in charge of herding (Ministry of Health, 2010). As indicated by Ames (2013, p. 275), Aymara children are traditionally expected to participate in the family's productive and domestic activities and, even when the sources of family livelihood may have changed with the urbanization and change of economic structure, children are still expected to contribute to the family income. The study by Barreto (2017) indicated that these tasks remain gendered. While boys often experience greater pressure to assume productive work, due to early paternity or the need to assist the total family income, girls are often silently expected to remain home either to take care of their younger siblings or their own children, in case of early maternity. As demonstrated by Barreto (2017) and Ames (2013), girls' aspirations and life projects are often restricted by oppressive power-relations and gender normative expectations that the society places on girls.

The main beneficiary group of the project were the adolescents of the 10 secondary schools located in four different districts: Carumas, Torata, Cuchumbaya and San Cristóbal. Depending on their home village some of the adolescents in the most remote communities have preserved Aymara as their mother tongue, while others speak Spanish and some, that have migrated from the neighbouring districts, speak Quechua. Local adolescents have low rates of school attendance and poor education outcomes resulting from cultural, geographical and financial barriers, as well as due to the lack of public investment and prioritization in the public agenda. Even though in the past years Moquegua region has presented some of the highest education outcomes in primary education at national level, the rural area, mainly of Aymara

origin, presents significantly lower learning achievements and high levels of school dropout (Save the Children Peru, 2014).



Image 6. Area of implementation of the project “Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education”. Moquegua. Save the Children Peru, 2015.

Peruvian Ministry of Education conducts a yearly census evaluation in mathematics and communication to all children in 2nd and 4th grade of primary education, and in 2nd grade of secondary education. In the census evaluation 2014, which was used as reference in the project baseline study, the district of Mariscal Nieto (the project area) reached the lowest score in the whole region. In fact, according to the project baseline the teachers and other education key actors have repeatedly claimed that the educational authorities focus mainly on primary education and there is an abandonment of attention concerning secondary education. Poor learning results and high school dropout may be partly due to outdated teaching since the appointed teachers who teach especially in rural communities tend to be older people (not even qualified) and often aren't even aware of the new curriculum. Besides this, many primary classrooms are multigrade, so there is no specialized teaching by level of study. (Ministry of Health, 2010, p. 102). However, the most recent evaluation from 2018 shows that the learning outcomes of the children have improved notably and are now the highest in the region. It is hard

to say what are the reasons for this improvement and whether the SC project or other social projects financed by the mining company have spurred the improvement. When comparing the results between genders, in the latest evaluation the girls continue outperforming boys in reading comprehension on primary level, but boys achieve better results in math. However, when reaching the second grade of secondary school boys outperform the girls both in math and in reading.

The general objective of the project was to reduce the barriers faced by adolescents to guarantee satisfactory learning outcomes and to conclude secondary education. The defined project outcomes are 1: Improve timely access to secondary education and capacity building for adolescents, parents and communities to address the barriers they face in the family, local and regional area. 2: Improve the quality of education for adolescents by increasing their knowledge, developing tools to improve their learning skills and the abilities to strengthen initiative and creativity as a strategy to stay in school. 3: Achieve greater involvement of education and regional authorities to improve access and quality of secondary education in Indigenous areas (Save the Children Peru, 2014, pp. 4-5).

6. RESULTS - PUTTING GENDER MAINSTREAMING INTO PRACTICE

The Beijing Platform for Action stated that gender mainstreaming is a “systematic consideration of the differences between the conditions, situations and needs of women and men in all policies and actions” (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2020c). This consideration should result in specific actions and ultimately results, according to the set goals. As seen in Chapter 3.1, gender mainstreaming (GM) as a policy strategy to promote gender equality, has been driven forward since the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. Peruvian legislation adopted the goal of gender equality at a rather early stage, but the discourse evolved around equal opportunities and did not adopt the explicit goal of *mainstreaming gender in public policies* until in the National Plan for Gender Equality (2012-2017). As previously stated, the Plan specifically states as its aim to reduce the educational gaps between genders. This chapter dives more deeply into how gender mainstreaming is put into practice through SC institutional policies and in the project AACFBE. It considers GM from the point of view of *practical measures*, as expressed in the second phase of gender mainstreaming effectivity by Caroline Moser (2015).

After the adoption of GM, 25 years ago, the approach has received both praise and criticism. Many development actors, activists, academics and policy makers have expressed their admiration of the comprehensiveness of the approach and the fact that it aims at changing both policies and actions, reaching both normative and redistributive gains as Bailly and Holmansdottir put it (2015, P. 832), meaning that the change involves both legislative measures towards equality as well as transformation of conditions. Some scholars (see e.g., Walby, 2011 and Woodward, 2008) consider it an exceptionally effective tool that allows to reach true gendered, sustainable and profound impact across policies, programmes and activities, whereas others (see e.g., Hankivsky, 2013 and Kantola, 2010) claim it’s performing poorly and has remained mostly on rhetorical level.

GM takes different forms in different countries and contexts. Indeed, as Hankivsky (2013, P. 632) manifests, its definitions and practices vary across country contexts and institutional settings. However, my intention is not to assess or judge gender mainstreaming as

a tool, but to give an insight into how it is put in practice in Save the children as a DNGO and in a specific project in the Peruvian highlands, with Save the Children as an implementing stakeholder and indigenous Aymara adolescents as main beneficiaries.

6.1. Mainstreaming Gender in Save the Children International

To Save the Children, mainstreaming gender equality means addressing gender inequalities across all areas of work in the organization and promoting gender equality as a priority to improve everyone's lives at the individual, family, and community levels. This means that GM must not only be included in the programmatic areas; which are Health and early childhood, Education and Child protection; but also, in the areas of Monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEAL), Administration and Human resources. However, according to Duplessis et al. (2014b), the organization recognizes that this is not an easy task and currently many projects do not identify the unique needs of girls and boys in the local context, or do not have the capacity of addressing these needs through programmatic strategies and activities. "These 'gender unaware' projects overlook the gendered needs of project beneficiaries", and they miss a critical opportunity to be more impactful; they may even run the risk of causing harm (or being *gender exploitative*, as described by the policy on gender equality), even though this may not be intentional (Duplessis, et al., 2014b, p. 14).

Mainstreaming gender is a critical priority for Save the Children and the organization has committed to apply it across all program cycles, the thematic areas and levels of the organization. In practice, gender mainstreaming starts by performing a gender analysis through data collection and analysis on the specific situations, roles, responsibilities, needs, and opportunities of girls, boys, women, and men. The analysis should be conducted in all the phases of the program cycle; both during the strategic planning phase, the proposal design phase, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and accountability and learning phase (Duplessis, et al., 2014b). The information gathered during the analysis on the differences and gaps between genders will give valuable contextual and situational information of girls and boys, their relations with each other and the inequalities they face. Gender analysis supports high-impact and high-quality programming and guides towards gender transformative interventions. In the case of SC, being an organization that works for children's rights, a specific attention is given

to children's participation in the process and to ensure that the analysis is conducted in a child-friendly manner (Duplessis et al., 2014b, pp. 55-56).

In order to mainstream gender in the entire **program cycle** one must first address gender during the strategic planning and the design of the core documents of the organization; in the case of Save the Children these being the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) and the Country Annual Plan (CAP). The organization policy requires the program cycle design to start by conducting a comprehensive Child Rights Situation Analysis (CRSA) during which all information gathered about the children's situation must be analysed using a child rights-based approach (CRBA), disaggregated by sex, and from a gender perspective to explain any differences. Child rights-based approach ensures that the activities are based on and constantly push the agenda for universal children's rights. Also, country-specific considerations must be looked at. In the case of Peru, for instance, certain critical variables related to gender, such as GBV and maternal health must not be ignored when assessing which rights are not being fulfilled and why. Also, the variation between different population groups (e.g., Indigenous vs. non-Indigenous) must be addressed. Additionally, it is important to make sure that information related to gender equality is retained, made visible and prioritized in all sections of the documents (Duplessis et al., 2014b, 59-61) as well as taken into consideration when tailoring needs-based-programs and projects that promote gender equality and tackle harmful stereotypical attitudes.

Save the Children recognizes the **Program and project design** phase as the most efficient stage to identify and respond to gender inequalities. Based on the interviewees SC Peru is well aware of that and, therefore, it is given a high priority. The design phase permits to identify the root causes of inequalities and the different needs and barriers to full participation by girls/boys; to avoid unforeseen, internally reinforced gender inequalities; and to identify all the participants that the interventions should reach out to – both the beneficiaries as well as a variety of stakeholders. All this information is expressed in the project proposal and other working documents such as the logical framework, the performance monitoring plan, and the evaluation plan. (p. 63). The existence of diverse project management tools with specific features for GM demonstrates that the organization has a firm intention of taking GM from the rhetoric level to the practice.

During the **implementation** phase, the gender analysis questions are first included as part of the baseline study and its results are then taken into consideration in the project activities. Clear guidelines on how to put GM into practice facilitate its implementation. Some of the interviewees considered that there were enough guidelines and tools while others wished for more. SC documents state that the project staff and the partners must have the minimum knowledge of gender mainstreaming through an adequate training process which must be part of the implementation process. A comprehensive gender analysis also helps to guarantee that the beneficiaries have ownership of the project and that there is an equitable participation of girls, boys, women, and men in all phases of the project cycle. SC documents show an effective anticipation of how to GM during the project implementation phase. They provide tools and guidance and give alerts. Indeed, Save the Children's Gender Equality Toolkit advises that, "new or previously unknown factors are likely to surface during the course of implementation, as project indicators and results are monitored" (Duplessis et al., 2014b, p. 71). Gender analysis must, indeed, be part of the constant monitoring process in which these new, arising factors must be analysed and addressed, and the project design must be accordingly adapted.

In Save the Children the area of monitoring and evaluation includes also the components of accountability and learning (MEAL), and it is a critical area for gender analysis and for mainstreaming gender in general. As expressed by the interviewees, the area of MEAL is thus present in the practice of GM in all three phases defined by Moser (2005): policy and rhetoric, implementation, and evaluation. Collaboration between the programmatic and MEAL area gives the opportunity to more effectively re-examine interventions, realign objectives, methods and activities when necessary, and find best practices. These activities should ideally be implemented and/or supported by a member of the MEAL team that has expertise in gender and the capacity of developing and utilizing strong gender-sensitive performance indicators. Any possible gender gaps must be analysed, the root causes must be identified, and the intervention must be adjusted according to the monitoring results. When considering the diverse tools for GM that SC provides for its COs, it is important to remember that the MEAL process should also give an answer to the question whether the project is *gender exploitative*, *gender unaware*, *gender sensitive* or *gender transformative* (see Duplessis, et al., 2014b, p. 15, pp. 75-76).

6.2 Mainstreaming gender in SC country program

Mainstreaming gender in the current Save the Children Peru Country Program started with a national child rights situation analysis (CRSA) which had a strong gender approach and the objective of drawing conclusions about what is the current environment where the organization operates and identifying the most critical needs and violations in terms of gender equality. As a parallel process, internal analysis of the organizational practices was performed in order to identify the drawbacks, inequalities and needs, and the whole staff was sensitized and trained to acquire the necessary skills for identifying the critical situations of gender inequality and of GBV through an adequate CRSA and for finding the root causes of gender discrimination, defining adequate responses and developing tools to address them. This shows a clear commitment towards the practice of GM – not only by directly applying the ready-made tools and guidelines provided by Save the Children International, mentioned in the previous chapter, but to adapt the process into the national context and the needs of the beneficiaries. What is also noteworthy, is the involvement of the whole institution in trainings, in order to make sure that each staff member is capable of adequately performing programs and projects with gender sensitive and transformative projects.

According to the country director of Save the Children Peru, (personal interview, 12 April 2017) during the strategic planning stage of the program cycle GM had a prominent role and gender was considered as part of the CRSA at institutional level when elaborating the new country strategic plan (CSP) and annual country plan (CAP). Adolescent girls were especially identified as one of the most vulnerable groups and it was therefore decided that they would be one of the prioritized beneficiary groups for the current CSP. Particularly pregnant adolescents would be targeted with specific actions, aligned with the priorities identified regionally in SC LAC, but motivated also by the findings of the situational analysis. As previously mentioned, pregnancies are directly related to the school dropout phenomenon and therefore, the education project implemented amongst Aymara teenagers in Moquegua region is directly aligned with the priorities of the CSP and CAP. During the time when the interviews were performed, another project related to teenage pregnancy and GBV was being designed. The coordinator for MEAL (personal interview, 22 November 2017) highlighted the importance of working on the issue of adolescent pregnancy, this being a critical issue in Peruvian society and considered a *public*

health problem, which has a direct relationship with school dropout and gender inequality expressed in the Peruvian schools.

The country director mentioned that the process of elaborating the CSP and CAP also gave the organization the possibility of reflecting on the institutional working culture on different levels and it was noticed that there are some discriminative interpersonal practices inside the organization, such as the use of sexist comments and jokes towards women. She explained that, as a remedy, a committee was set up to eradicate inappropriate interaction, to monitor the gender approach more closely in the institutional practices, and to develop indicators for gender. The objective was to ensure that the organization works in a gender sensitive way also regarding its internal working culture, which is reflected in the work it does with the beneficiaries. This phenomenon has been identified also by North (2010, p. 432), whose study revealed that there is “organizational resistance to working on gender” which many development cooperation professionals consider important to overcome.

All interviewees agreed that gender mainstreaming is considered in the SC strategic plan 2016-2018 and that it will continue to be a priority for SC. The MEAL coordinator (personal interview, 22 November 2017) estimated that several interventions in the protection and education programs aim specifically at improving gender equality, as well as the national campaign "Speak for them" which aims at ensuring that pregnant girls and teenagers from 12 to 17 years, mainly from rural and peri-urban areas and from the Indigenous populations, are protected and have the opportunity of developing their life skills, and receiving quality care, education and protection services. “It is not always easy to mainstream gender in SC policies and programs due to cultural issues”, admits the MEAL coordinator. “However, it is a priority in SC to mainstream gender in all the interventions we carry out”.

In the past few years, SC Peru has gone through a restructuring process, and the establishment of a new area of program quality that oversees MEAL and project design has allowed the organization to evaluate its performance more persistently and systematically both in terms of institutional cycle as well as in terms of program and project design. According to the regional gender advisor for SC LAC, (personal interview, 7 April 2017) the manager of this new area is sensitive to gender mainstreaming, which has helped greatly in addressing the issue in the new projects. However, at the time of the interviews there was no obligatory monitoring

tool or indicator that would automatically require the projects to consider GM in all project phases. This means that if gender wasn't adequately considered in the proposal during the design of the project, and driven by those in charge of the design, it is difficult to incorporate it afterwards, since no funds have been programmed for it. Even if the need for addressing gender inequalities was identified during the project implementation phase, it is hardly possible to modify the activities and address the root causes afterwards. As a result, in such cases the inclusion of gender is most probably only superficial, "appendage or an add-on to the project", as Engberg-Pedersen (2016, p. 939) has expressed, and would probably reach only the level of gender sensitive and not transformative. Instead, gender mainstreaming should be "key to the solution of concrete problems" (p. 939).

The opinions of the gender advisor and the MEAL coordinator differ slightly in terms of the level of gender mainstreaming in the project implementation. While the regional advisor considers that there is an urgent need for a tool that would indicate the level of GM and that would guide in taking it into consideration from the beginning of the project design phase, the MEAL coordinator mentions that now they do have tools to measure the degree of mainstreaming in new proposals, which helps them to learn and therefore to improve. "There is always a gender analysis in each proposal", he mentioned. It might be that the gender advisor is simply more demanding, and that she has higher standards for an ideal level of GM and of equality situation or, on the other hand, that the situation improved between one interview and the other since the MEAL coordinator's interview was performed seven months later than the gender advisor's interview. Even so, also the gender advisor admitted that there has been improvement. However, she mentioned that adequate tools would help in timely consideration of gender in the projects on regional level.

According to the regional advisor, the number of gender sensitive projects has currently decreased and, with this, the quality of performance of Save the Children in terms of GM. The advisor (personal interview, 7 April 2017) explained that recently a new indicator of program quality was finally developed which specifically addresses gender at the design stage of proposals. This new program quality indicator would be taken into use by 2018 and it would measure whether the proposals have a sensitive or transformative gender approach at their design phase, before sending them to the donor. To measure this, a marker of gender equality

was developed, and it gives the project a score based on different criteria across the proposal. Till now the inclusion of gender had depended mostly on the interests and the prioritization of four key actors: the donor, the program manager, the implementing staff (including the coordinator, field workers and counterparts), and the MEAL staff, all of whom depend on one another. After implementing the quality indicator, all the projects should obligatorily take into consideration gender both thematically and financially. Thus, introducing this new indicator should impact positively on the quality of mainstreaming gender into different SC programs. Global trainings have been offered to all SC staff in the use of the indicator, but the gender advisor mentioned that unfortunately the participation has been scarce in spite of the fact that the use of the indicator is mandatory. This may reflect, on the one hand, the lack of interest and prioritization or, on the other hand, lack of time for giving the topic the adequate attention.

SC Peru is in the process of improving its abilities in gender mainstreaming. According to the gender advisor, only about 20% of all SCI projects are gender sensitive, and even less are gender transformative. She estimates that the level of accomplishment of SC Peru is similar to that of the organization globally.

“Due to this sad reality, because 20% is not much, it was decided that the cross-cutting axis of gender equality should be prioritized in the global strategy from 2016 onwards. Currently, a very strong work is being done in SC teams at regional level to give them tools, training and to improve their skills to mainstream gender and to analyze and program with this approach. However, it is still in a process.” (the regional gender advisor for SC LAC, personal interview, 7 April 2017).

All interviewees admit that even if gender mainstreaming is a clear priority of the global strategy, the level of inclusion of a gender approach both institutionally and programmatically still depends greatly on the personal interests of the staff members. Those who are more interested in the topic search to train themselves, familiarize themselves with the relevant documents and tools of the institution, and include the approach both in their everyday work practices as in project actions and activities (personal interviews to the regional gender advisor for SC LAC, 7 April 2017, the country director of SC, 12 April 2017 & the MEAL coordinator, 22 November 2017). The gender advisor stressed that it is extremely important to count with sensitized managers, team leaders and a country director. In this sense, she estimated that Peru

CO is in a positive situation since the country director takes interest and wants to work better on mainstreaming gender. According to her, the director has actively sought training and has understood the need for strengthening the approach at the program level, especially so in the education sector by working with Peruvian teachers and sensitizing them on the importance of gender equality and the ways GBV is manifested in the Peruvian society and schools. The director has even taken an active role on defending gender equality publicly, which is not very common in LAC countries: “She stood out to support the Ministry of Education as a representative of civil society and to defend gender approach in the national curriculum against the conservative groups, and when doing so, she realized that there are still things that need to be strengthened” (the regional gender advisor for SC LAC, personal interview, 7 April 2017).

When inquiring about the level of training of the staff in gender mainstreaming in general, the interviewees mention that all staff in the Peru CO has been offered training. The country director considers that these trainings have been extremely useful, even for the administrative staff. They have developed the capacities of the entire staff in different stages of GM, taking into consideration both terminology, implementation and evaluation (see: Moser, 2005). and have produced a very rich analysis and reflection. For now, the regional gender advisor does not see it necessary to offer more trainings even if some of the capacities of the staff still need to be strengthened: “I believe that there is a level of awareness on gender inequality, but they do not necessarily implement it.” She mentions that what is needed more is to “make people fall in love with the topic” (personal interview, 7 April 2017). The MEAL coordinator, on the other hand, considers that the staff still needs training: “Ideally, the whole team should understand and know what gender mainstreaming means, how it is being managed in SC, what it means in out every-day work, etc. So, it would be ideal to have an ad hoc specialization training” (the MEAL coordinator, personal interview, 22 November 2017). The declarations of both gender advisor and MEAL coordinator let us understand that, even when the staff is trained, GM often remains on the level of rhetoric and that the implementation and monitoring stages (Moser, 2005) aren’t yet effectively implemented. However, as they do not see additional training necessary and/or useful, it seems that the learning process simply needs a bit more time for them to internalize it.

Likewise, the country director admits that the capacities of the staff still need to be strengthened but points out that the real challenges come from outside the organization. As seen in the strong opposition movement towards the new national curriculum with stronger gender approach, the Peruvian society still has many sectors that oppose gender equality, or at least need to be more informed about what it really means and what the implications are. Both the country director and the regional gender advisor suggest that the organization needs to work with different allies in order to address the whole society. “Stronger networks must be formed, perhaps including the academy in order to convince citizens, the masses. The importance of gender equality [must be] supported by studies, technical evidence on the problems of discriminating society” (SC country director, personal interview, 12 April 2017). Perhaps this is something to be taken into consideration also in the proposal design since most of the projects do not have a strong focus on the data production.

Both the country director and the gender advisor see the future of gender equality in SC with optimism. As the gender advisor comments, the fact that the leader of the organization is convinced, ready and capable of defending the gender approach publicly is extremely important and, besides that, “Peru already has interesting work done in this aspect. It has promoted work on masculinity, and it has some projects with focus on sexual violence. So, if we compare country by country in the region, Peru is one of the countries that have things to show”. The country director, on the other hand, mentions the importance of counting with the support of a regional adviser physically in the office: “For a couple of years we have had a gender specialist based in Lima whom we take great advantage of. She has travelled to the rural areas and has trained people. Changes are made little by little, but we are making progress. We have also produced materials, there are some good materials on gender, for example for schools.” (SC country director, personal interview, 12 April 2017).

According to the gender advisor, at the SC policy level, the issue of gender equality is currently being given a strong weight; in a few months, a new global gender equality policy will be approved and additionally, in the beginning of the year, in each country office one of the staff members was designated a gender focal point. She or he is receiving additional training and must commit to pass it over to the whole office, to support mainstreaming gender and to ensure greater attention on gender equality, in all stages of implementation.

The definition of SC gender policy on gender mainstreaming stresses that gender perspectives must be central to all institutional activities - policy development, research, advocacy, dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programs and projects. This is directly related to the three GM stages by Moser (2005), ranging from rhetorical/policy level, to practical implementation and MEAL. However, due to the limited extension of the projects and the action frames that are influenced and partly defined by the donors due to the available financing, the work is often limited to only some of these aspects. In addition to this, when situations of inequality are found, and GM activities are designed and implemented to revert them, the results are rarely immediate. Some gendered practices, such as the use of hidden curriculum for instance, are so unconscious that it takes a long time to change reality. Despite SC's long-standing awareness building in LAC countries, project baselines constantly reveal use of hidden curriculum and teaching methodologies that do not equally promote the students' learning in certain subjects, but assume certain type of performance based on a particular gender (e.g., reinforcing the false belief that mathematics is not for girls) (Asencios, 2018, p. 16).

6.3. Mainstreaming gender in the project “Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education”

In the case of the project “Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education” the project design phase overlapped with a phase of analysis and design for the Peru country program during which gender equality was defined as a priority for the organization. Thus, the first stage of GM, defined by Moser (2005), was given plenty of attention. Gender approach was also identified as a main focus in the situation analysis performed during the project design. However, the project design had to be adapted to the needs and the time frame of the donor as well as to the financial conditions, which perhaps did not permit to perform sufficiently profound analysis and gather input from all the actors. Therefore, after the beginning of the project more information was gathered from discussions with the community and with the freshly elected, new regional education authorities and it was noticed that both the log frame and some of the activities needed slight adaptations for the project to respond the needs of the beneficiaries – the indigenous adolescent girls and their lack of quality education. Posterior

modifications are always challenging and, as the gender advisor points out (personal interview, 7 April 2017), if gender approach is not included in the project design, “afterwards it may be difficult to address the root causes of the inequalities”. It is therefore extremely important that the team that designs the project and oversees MEAL has the necessary skills, tools and technical assistance to identify the critical situations of gender inequality through an adequate CRSA and to mainstream gender approach into the whole project proposal right from the beginning.

When it comes to the level of GM in the implementation phase of the Project “AABFBE”, there are several actions worth mentioning. As a result of the revision of the project log frame, gender approach of the project indicators was strengthened. The indicators were then used as a basis for the design and implementation of the baseline study of the project. In accordance with the results of the baseline study and the continuous monitoring process, some activities were slightly modified during the implementation of the project. The whole project team was specifically trained by the regional gender advisor in how to mainstream gender in education and health projects, taking into consideration that the project addresses not only education but also health issues through the promotion of mental and sexual health of the adolescents.

The core activity of the project was to empower adolescents through workshops that either addressed gender equality explicitly or included a gender approach implicitly. The workshops were offered to all the students of the schools that were part of the project, but some other activities were earmarked only for girls, such as the National Meeting for Rural Girls aimed at improving girls’ participation. Besides the adolescents, also other actors that had key roles in promoting equality, were identified. Gender approach trainings were thus offered also to the teachers and the parents, as well as to the regional counterparts, such as the Regional Education Directorate, Local Education Management Unit, Regional Education Directorate and Ombudsman’s office. Even the local media received a workshop on good practices of journalism with a Child Rights based approach and on how to elaborate news about adolescents with gender sensitiveness.

When considering how project management tools, and the MEAL component, mainstream gender and contribute directly to the achievement of gender sensitivity in the project, the presence of gender sensitive indicators on the log frame are perhaps the clearest

reference to the gender approach. Some of these indicators were modified during the re-elaboration of GM. The indicators gather gender disaggregated data of the changes produced as a result of the project activities and measure up to which level the project objectives are met. 50% of the indicators (7/14) of our case study project were gender specific. The outputs, on the other hand, reach a slightly lower score since only 30% (3/9) of them specifically address gender. However, none of the three project outcomes address gender and the connection between the activities, outputs and outcomes is sometimes rather weak. However, the project monitoring policies suggest that the activities should directly contribute to the outputs and outcomes, and ultimately to the project goal. It is also worth mentioning that even if gathering disaggregated data is a valid GM tool and contributes to knowing about the quality of the intervention (as Moser's GM stage 3) it does not contribute much to the level of inclusion of gender if the previous stages of GM are not properly implemented.

At the time of the interviews, no other project evaluation had been performed after the baseline study. SC GM policy suggests that the gender approach should be especially assessed during the project, but the activity plan of our case study project did not include any specific gender analysis and, in order to include these kinds of activities, additional human and financial resources would have been needed. However, as part of the activities, a qualitative study of secondary school students' drop-out was performed. This study "Analysis of the risk factors that influence high school dropout and non-permanence in school, and their consequences in adolescents" (Barreto 2017) had a special focus on adolescent girls and it gave valuable gender sensitive data on Aymara adolescents. According to the interviewees it was also used for monitoring and accountability purposes, for instance when reporting to the donors.

What then, are the aspects that could still be strengthened in the inclusion of gender in the project "AABFBE"? Vasquez and Monge (2009, 53-55) state that the policies for boosting girls' attendance and for improving the quality of education in school include, amongst others, making school attractive for girls through different measures such as provision of infrastructure and complementary goods, specific policies for girls' restrooms, flexible schedules for the development of women's own activities, provision of services to households that cover the basic domestic obligations of rural girls and reduction of the costs of education. Of the mentioned measures, only the first one is satisfactorily fulfilled in the project area since it receives tax

money from the mining companies operating in the area and the amount earmarked for education is largely used in school infrastructure and complementary goods, such as computers. What is quite irrational, is the fact that many schools are still fighting to have a stable provision of basic services such as electricity, water, and sanitation services, not to mention internet and teachers that have the skills to use it in teaching, but in contrast they may have smart boards and an array of computers. Instead of technology, the beneficiary families and children, who are part of the most vulnerable population in the region, are asking for a free service of school meals, flexible schedules and curricula adapted for agricultural seasons, support in smaller siblings' day-care and alternative school systems that offer for instance boarding to the children or permits to perform the studies partially at distance. These are social policies and programs that must be developed multilaterally between different ministries or their decentralized bodies. SC could take an active role in promoting the elaboration of these programs and initiatives as part of its GM work, both by doing advocacy work for their inclusion into policies (terminology stage), to see how to take them into consideration by using GM tools that are currently available (implementation stage), and to later contribute into their evaluation (GM stage 3 by Moser, 2005).

6.4. Discussion on the Effectivity of Gender Mainstreaming in the present case study

As the results of Olena Hankivsky's (2013, p. 638) five-country-comparative study demonstrate, even though a wide variety of GM guides, tools, and checklists is available, "translation of these into practice is demanding and challenging because of the confusion concerning what the GM strategy entails, including its key terms and concepts". If there is no understanding of the concepts of equality or gender, as some of her interviewees had observed, most probably they don't understand what gender mainstreaming means either (Hankivsky, 2013, 638). In the same way, some of my interviewees doubted the true understanding of what gender approach really means both in an institutional environment and in project implementation. And even if the concept was adopted at the rhetorical level, if it is not thoroughly understood, and its implementation process is confusing, the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming is hardly realised. The level of the transformative process

and the progress in gender mainstreaming can be assessed in terms of four related stages suggested by Moser (2005, pp. 576-577): embracing the terminology, GM policy, practical GM measures, evaluation and auditing. However, as previously mentioned, in this study I adopt only three of the phases as the policy is expressed in the form of a certain terminology and discourse and thus, the first two phases can be perceived as one.

As Moser points out “In the past decade, the majority of development institutions, national governments and international NGOs have all adopted the terminology of gender equality and gender mainstreaming” (2005, p. 577). This is maybe due to increased understanding of women's role in contributing to economic and social development of the societies and the resulting global consensus of taking women into consideration as having share and ultimately agency in development processes. However, it is not enough to just embrace the terminology if there is no real political will and instruments to put it in practice or, in other words, if the conditions are not met to enable real measures (see e.g., Benschop & Verloo, 2006). Therefore, diverse GM policies have been endorsed both on international, national and institutional level by adopting agreements that relate to diverse domains ranging from training, monitoring and evaluation, to supporting women’s decision-making processes (Moser, 2005, pp. 577-581).

Based on the conducted interviews, training on gender mainstreaming is something that is still needed to transform both institutional policies and everyday working conditions and practices, as well as project contents and project management processes. There is a firm commitment inside the organization to embrace gender approach, and it becomes evident from institutional policies and from the intention of including gender approach into projects right from their design. However, according to the opinion of several key staff members, it seems that the project staff lacks tools and skills to effectively perform the MEAL component and this might be the reason why the activities do not directly contribute to the project outputs, outcomes, and the overall project goal. This is something that would perhaps require the revision of the MEAL specialist since there should always be a causal relationship and alignment between them and we might question whether the evaluating and auditing phase takes this into consideration and asks the right questions in order to assess project impact. Indeed, different scholars have claimed that there is a lack of effective, consistent and systematic evaluation of GM, mostly due

to challenges in identifying assessment criteria that effectively cover both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy (Moser, 2005, p. 584). If the GM approach itself has been accused of being ambiguous, its evaluation and the methods used for it, seem to suffer from even more ambiguity.

Another approach on understanding the process of gender mainstreaming is that of the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE, 2020a), according to which the starting point of GM policy cycle is the definition of the policy needs, done through situational gender analysis and impact assessment. I bring this out as an additional phase to complement Moser's theory and to point out that situational analysis phase should always be taken into consideration as part of the process of gender mainstreaming prior to embracing GM terminology, defining policies, and designing specific activities that this process is composed of. Indeed, Save the Children CAP and project design practices always include a situational analysis phase as part of institutional policies, during which extensive and up-to-date data is gathered on children's and adolescents' daily lives. Relevant, gender-disaggregated data is a precondition for an efficient situational analysis, which aims at providing a robust understanding about the reality, and should result in suitable policies and programs. According to EIGE (2020a), the definition stage is followed by the planning phase which involves identifying the objectives, approaches and interventions as well as ensuring the necessary budget with gender approach and establishing gender sensitive indicators for monitoring. This phase is clearly identified in SC project design and, indeed, the interviewees express that careful attention is placed on defining gender-sensitive and gender-disaggregated indicators.

As part of the implementation phase of a policy, program or project, besides the smooth implementation of activities according to the designed plan, what is also highlighted is the promotion of gender competence amongst all actors involved in the process. These competences must be actively improved and updated through diverse capacity building initiatives. SC's advantage is an extremely motivated local staff willing to learn and to push forward their knowhow and a constant support from a highly professional international team. Finally, the GM cycle proposed by EIGE ends with the check stage, which includes both monitoring and evaluation and thus overlaps with the implementation phase, as it must be present during the whole project cycle. The intervention must be evaluated both on program and project level and

both internally and externally. Aligned with the policies of project management accountability, the results of this process must be carefully reflected and reported upon using a gender sensitive approach. They must also be delivered to, and analysed together with the beneficiaries - both genders, and also trained in gender approach, in order to contribute to the learning and improvement.

These two views on the process of gender mainstreaming, as well as its assessment, are closely aligned and they both give emphasis on the importance of monitoring and evaluation, which is crucial for releasing the learning potential. European Institute for Gender Equality (2020a) reminds that it is imperative to make the results of the evaluation publicly accessible and strategically disseminate the recommendations and lessons learnt because this allows for the gender mainstreaming approach to be fine-tuned in future actions. Regrettably, Benschopp (2006, p. 30) considers that “the risks of conflict avoidance and even self-censorship are inherent to gender mainstreaming”. This is aligned with the concern of the SC country director and the initiative taken in the SC CO in order to dismantle discriminatory practices and train the personnel in identifying their biased attitudes. As Benschopp (2006, p. 22) has mentioned, there is a need to address operational and implementation problems, on the one hand, but also to “truly address the genderedness of organizations and avoid the trap of losing the focus on gender.” It is gratifying that the organization has taken consciousness and measures to change the organizational culture in terms of gendered attitudes and practices, in addition to the programmatic priorities, design and implementation of projects focusing on gender equality. In addition to that, my suggestion of elaborating this Master’s thesis on the performance of the organization in gender mainstreaming was received with open arms and to collaboration both in data collection and the posterior analysis of the results was gratifyingly smooth and the willingness of improving and reflecting one's GM practices was notable.

Based on the literary review, the interviews and the analysis of SC policies and strategies, several strengths can be identified in the level of Peruvian legislation and in GM as an organizational process and policy inside Save the Children. Peruvian legislation has clearly highlighted gender approach and GM in the recent decades as a way of struggling towards more gender equal society. The legislation is aligned with the international legal basis and seeks to address the issues identified as most critical – such as teenage pregnancy and gendered

opportunity disparities in education and working life. Save the Children as an organization has a strong sensitivity towards gender issues, good gender balance inside the organization (both in terms of numbers of each gender and their distribution into different positions as well as in terms of equal pay) and strong expertise in GM. It is willing to promote gender equality and to actively implement gender mainstreaming and there are appropriate GM tools and strong support available for it from the international head organization. However, the organizational culture is embedded in the local society and culture, and without constant vigilance and self-reflection discriminatory and gendered practices and discourses may be filtered into the institutional working environment. On the other hand, the willingness to promote gender equality is not always translated into actions due to lack of skills in putting into practice the tools provided by the head organization. In the same way, Moser (2005, p. 581) has expressed that the challenge is often related to the development of appropriate methodologies that enable to translate policy documents into operational strategies and implementation procedures. Even though gender is a key focus in the programmatic work of Save the Children, there is still a certain lack of understanding the importance of gender mainstreaming as part of organizational culture and a false notion of gender neutrality which leads to unconscious discriminatory practices. Even when this limitation has been identified, enforcement of GM seems challenging. Finally, the rather heavy workload of the staff members (which may be partly due to the reduced financing on the development sector in Peru) results in inability of participating in offered training on gender mainstreaming. Thus, if the staff is not provided the possibility to prioritize gender, it can hardly be considered as the utmost priority of the organization. Benscopp (2006, p. 30) goes so far as to manifest that “gender blind and gender biased attitudes are important manifestations of the genderedness of organizations”. Therefore, any gender mainstreaming project must deal with these attitudes.

While Peru has progressed greatly in putting gender policies in place on the level of terminology, it does not mean that they have been successfully implemented on practical level, even when diverse GM measures should be the vehicle to reach the end-result of the policies – empowerment and equality of both genders. Indeed, Moser (2005, p. 581) states that “the challenge now is holding stakeholders – governments, UN agencies, the private sector, civil

society – accountable for implementation.” and to figure how goals, strategies and associated actions turn into outcomes. Finally, as all practices, efficient gender mainstreaming must end with evaluating and/or auditing not only the results but the whole process of GM. MEAL is its own area of expertise that should not be underestimated and it has a key role in taking GM into practice.

As a whole, the project “AABFBE” meets well the minimum standard of SC gender policy by fulfilling the criteria of gender sensitive projects and considering the different needs, abilities, and opportunities of girls, boys, women, and men. However, it still has several criteria to fulfil in order to be considered gender transformative. It does involve multiple keyholders in different stages of the project cycle and in the project activities that address gender inequality, but the root causes of the gender inequalities could be analysed to a greater extent. Tailoring the activities to meet more specifically these particular causes would improve the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming. The relationship of causes, activities and effects in the logical framework should be revised, as well as the alignment of the indicators, outputs and outcomes. To perform this revision, I would recommend more intensive support by a gender expert – either from the regional LAC office or as technical assistance from the SCI member responsible for the project supervision.

Based on the conducted interviews, it might be that the project staff lacks tools and skills to effectively perform the MEAL component, which might result in incoherence in specific GM tools and throughout the process of GM. That might be the reason why the project activities do not always effectively contribute to the project outputs, outcomes, and the overall project goal, and how they take into consideration gender approach. Indeed, different scholars have claimed that there is a lack of effective, consistent and systematic evaluation of GM, mostly due to challenges in identifying assessment criteria that effectively cover both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy (Moser, 2005, p. 584). If the GM approach itself has been accused of being ambiguous, its evaluation and the methods used for it, seem to suffer from even more ambiguity.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Education is a fundamental human right that promotes individual empowerment and yields important development benefits, both for the individual, the community and the nation. Yet, millions of children, especially girls, are denied the right to quality education. Even though universal access to basic education has been virtually achieved, other critical inequalities reflecting and producing gender disparities in education, still persist. These include, amongst others, lack of teachers trained with gender sensitive approach and representing different genders, poor school safety, financial barriers, teenage pregnancy, and child labour. The accumulation of several factors of vulnerability and discrimination ultimately lead to lower learning achievements, and often to a gradual process of disengagement of the student from school and of finally dropping out.

This master's thesis examined gender equality in education in Peru and the process of gender mainstreaming (GM) in legal instruments, in the country program of Save the Children Peru, and especially in the project "Aymara adolescents building their future from a better education" (AABFBE), implemented in Moquegua between 2015 and 2018. The aim of the research was to contribute to the level of understanding and prioritization of a gender approach in Save the Children Peru and to provide more information on the needs and gaps that still exist in terms of equality in education and the particularities to be considered. My intention was not to evaluate whether GM as an approach has succeeded or failed but to shed light on the process itself in order to take informed decisions on what steps to take next, which processes and stages to strengthen, and how to better design, implement and evaluate it.

The analysed data, which consisted of legislative, bibliographic and project management documents, as well as semi-structured interviews to Save the Children staff members, confirms that the situation in Peru closely follows the global trend: even when the Peruvian legislation has experienced considerable progress in favour of gender equality, and is largely aligned to the international legislation, which has strongly emphasized GM since the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), it is still insufficient in terms of offering tools for engendering educational development policies and leading to concrete actions in favour of gender equality in education. It has been challenging for the INGOs and local actors to take gender

mainstreaming into practice, because they do not completely comprehend the concept of GM, they are lacking adequate training or because the policies do not offer applicable tools. Indeed, GM is often included into policies and project cycles only on the rhetoric level, or partly, instead of considering it throughout the whole process. Insufficient planning, inadequate technical expertise and insufficient follow-up results in policy intentions not being implemented satisfactorily in practice (see e.g. Engberg-Pedersen 2016, p. 945). In the light of the analysed data it is of supreme importance that GM becomes one of the main focuses in the planning and implementation of the national education sector and that the civil sector can effectively monitor, accompany and complement their efforts and achievements. It is crucial to guarantee that both of these actors can take gender mainstreaming from theory into practice and from rhetoric into tools and actions.

On the other hand, in Save the Children International (SCI) and Save the Children (SC) Peru, gender approach is clearly prioritized both institutionally and programmatically. A wide set of tools are provided for gender mainstreaming (GM) and they permeate different levels of the organization and stages of implementation, from policy-level, to planning, implementation and evaluation. What is noteworthy, is the fact that all these are planned based on situational analyses. Gender equality has a key role in the country programme of SC Peru and, based on the national child right situation analysis (CRSA), adolescent girls were identified as one of the most vulnerable groups and it was decided to prioritize them in the current country strategic plan (CSP). Save the Children Child Rights Situation Analysis (CRSA) and the “AABFBE” project baseline follow both the official quantitative data, provided by the government as well as the self-produced qualitative data that expresses directly the needs and priorities of the beneficiaries. This demonstrates a conscious attempt of mainstreaming gender both through quantitative and qualitative measures. The country office counts with multiple tools for GM provided by SCI and all staff has been trained in GM. Even so, as several interviewees admitted, there is still room for improvement in implementing the approach.

What is rather surprising, is the fact that, even though the projects of Save the Children Peru are implemented almost exclusively among Indigenous populations, Indigenous peoples are clearly prioritized, and their vulnerable situation is recognized, indigeneity is largely absent from SC Peru policy papers and in the project implementation the variable of indigeneity is

hardly visible. In the same way, many SC COs work effectively with Indigenous communities but indigeneity is absent in Save the Children Global strategies, and even when Indigenous populations are identified as an under-privileged population group in Latin America, policy documents rarely refer to any related legal instruments, such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). Indeed, Patricia Erb (2017), President of Save the Children Canada has stated that “While several of our members and country offices have ongoing work with Indigenous children, Save the Children has yet to develop a global position on the experiences of Indigenous Peoples.”

When evaluating the gender mainstreaming in the project “AABFBE” some important issues came out: even when GM was given plenty of attention in the project design phase contrasting priorities, multiplicity of stakeholders, limited timeframe and financial conditions resulted in the need for the logical framework of the project to be partially redefined afterwards and some of the activities needed slight adaptations for the project to respond the needs of the beneficiaries. This confirms how crucial it is to consider gender approach in all phases of project management, that adequate funds are budgeted for its implementation, and that it is translated into sustainable results, meaningful for the girls and their futures, and not only for reporting purposes. However, it also confirms the firm commitment of the organization to implement meaningful projects with real results. Indeed, there was a clear commitment to include GM throughout the project, and technical assistance for its implementation was searched both from the national monitoring and evaluation (MEAL) team as well as from the regional gender advisor. What is also noteworthy, is the inclusion of different stakeholders both in the design and the implementation phase of the intervention. Besides the adolescents, also other actors that had key roles in promoting equality, such as school staff, parents, authorities and media, were identified as crucial for GM and trained in applying the approach. Another good practice of gender mainstreaming used during the project is the active inclusion of both boys and girls in the activities. It was clear to the implementing organization and the project team that the intervention needed to include both genders and that inequality is a question of power-relations. Even when most activities and measures contributed essentially to the promotion of girls, boys were fully considered in the project activities with the intention of exploring the power dynamics and tools for dismantling inequality.

In order to discredit gender stereotypes and to combat the resulting inequality in different spheres of the society, and especially in education, we need to understand how they are constructed and how they operate in everyday life. Therefore, we need more research on gender; firstly, on its operation in the school environment, and secondly on the effects it brings to the individual lives and futures. As Milligan (2014, p. 465) has specified, we need to explore what are the multiple vulnerabilities that girls face which make accessing and fully engaging in an equitable education difficult. Only by throwing light on the processes that re/produce gender stereotypes, their operation in everyday life, and on how power relations are created and maintained, can we combat inequality and implement GM in an effective manner. At the same time, gender mainstreaming continues to be a rather ambiguous concept and, partially because of this, many stakeholders consider it challenging to assess it. Therefore, there is a critical demand for more research to improve our understanding of the concept – to deconstruct it and to analyse how we can transform its different stages into viable implementation and evaluation tools with appropriate indicators. A richer body of studies and evaluations could contribute to the appropriateness of both programmatic and institutional activities. Thirdly, I call for more research on the dynamics and consideration of gender-diversity both in education and in development cooperation interventions. Consideration of gender-diversity is topical also for development cooperation and civil society organizations. The absence of the topic in Save the Children gender policy documents, for instance, is worrying. In this sense, child rights situation analysis (CRSA), for instance, must not consider boys and girls as two opposing, homogeneous groups who have same needs, aspirations and challenges but it must allow space for diverse identities and remember that besides gender, there are other attributes that count and intersect – such as culture, ethnicity and indigeneity.

By producing robust evidence, we can create spaces for dialogues on gender mainstreaming and for ways in which different actors (the state, development cooperation, civil society and the individuals themselves) can take it into practice more effectively in order to alleviate discrimination and inequality. I hope that the suggestions made in this study will be useful in planning future actions and strategies in terms of how to include gender mainstreaming in education projects with the ultimate aim of enabling all individuals, regardless of their gender, to have equal opportunities to realize their individual potential and of building a more egalitarian society.

8. REFERENCES

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Interview frame – list of questions: country director

1. What does SC Peru consider to be the greatest drawbacks and gaps in gender equality in the Peruvian society and the education rights of children?
 - (Aspects to consider: access, adaptability, availability, acceptability)
2. Are these gaps addressed through SC's work?
3. What does gender mainstreaming mean for SC Peru institutionally and programmatically?
4. Institutionally, what weight is given to gender equality in terms of prioritization of the issue in institutional policies, human and financial resources?
5. According to the SC documents on gender mainstreaming, the country program director should ideally "ensure strong leadership in gender equality by sensitizing staff on gender inequalities and creating a favorable environment for gender mainstreaming". What progress has been made in this regard in SC Peru?
6. Has gender been addressed during the strategic planning stage - the design of the Country Strategic Plan (CSP) and the Annual Country Plan (CAP)?
7. What are the specific contextual challenges in Peru and institutional challenges in SC?
8. What suggestions would you have for it?
9. How is gender mainstreaming monitored and made accountable?
10. What has been the performance of SC Peru in this sense?
11. In your opinion, what is the level of gender mainstreaming in the education program and specifically the Moquegua project?
 - What has been done and what is missing?
12. Is the institutional culture of the organization sensitive to gender issues? Are all workers aware of the inequalities, gender mainstreaming and do they put into practice in their work?

Appendix 2. Interview frame – list of questions: regional gender advisor

1. What does gender mainstreaming mean for Save the SCI?
2. How would you assess the degree of gender mainstreaming in SC policies and programs at national, regional and global levels?
3. Institutionally what weight is given to gender mainstreaming in terms of human and financial resources?
4. Is the institutional culture of the organization sensitive to gender issues? Are all workers aware of the inequalities, gender mainstreaming and they put it into practice in their work?
5. Do you consider that SC Peru is aware of the importance of the gender approach and is committed to the implementation of gender mainstreaming?
6. What does SC Peru consider to be the greatest drawbacks and gaps in gender equality in the Peruvian society and the education rights of children?
 - (Aspects to consider: access, adaptability, availability, acceptability)
7. Are they addressed through the work carried out by SC?
8. What specific challenges and opportunities do you see at the level of the education program in terms of gender equality?
9. In what ways have you specifically supported SC Peru, in the program cycle (institutional-wise) and in the different phases of the project cycle (thematic areas)?
10. What are the specific contextual challenges in LAC and institutional challenges in SC?
11. How is gender mainstreaming monitored and made accountable?
12. What suggestions would you have for it?

Appendix 3. Interview frame – list of questions: education program manager

1. What do you consider to be the greatest drawbacks and gaps in gender equality in the Peruvian society and the education rights of children?
 - (Aspects to consider: access, adaptability, availability, acceptability)
2. Are they served through the work that SC Peru does?
3. What does gender mainstreaming mean for the SC program area?
4. According to the SC documents on gender mainstreaming, the program manager should ideally "ensure gender equality throughout the program cycle, possibly by soliciting input from other staff members (M & E specialists, coordinators or officials) to make this happen". What progress has been made in this regard in the area of programs in general and specifically in the education program?
5. What have been the results so far?
6. Have you had any significant achievements or difficulties?
7. How is the mainstreaming of gender in each phase of the project cycle (from Moquegua project) (from design, situational analysis, LdB, MEAL etc) taken into account?
8. Which phases or components of the project in Moquegua have been prioritized or given most weight in mainstreaming gender?
 - Design and programming
 - Budgeting
 - Implementation of activities according to different results and actors
 - Relations with partners and counterparties
 - Generation of data and publications
 - Monitoring and information gathering
 - Evaluation
9. Have you identified whether the project is gender exploitative, aware, sensitive or transformative? Does it meet the minimum standards of SC?
10. What do you consider to be the greatest drawbacks and gaps in gender equality in education in the project area (Moquegua)?
11. Does the project attack them? How?
12. What have been the results so far?
13. Have you had any significant achievements or difficulties?
14. Do you consider that at the level of management and implementation of the education program you have the necessary tools to mainstream gender?
15. To whom is the project/SC accountable and how?
16. What suggestions would you have about it?

Appendix 4. Interview frame – list of questions: MEAL coordinator

1. What do you consider to be the greatest gender gaps and violations in Peruvian society and the educational rights of children and adolescents? (aspects to consider: access, adaptability, availability, acceptability)
2. Are they served through the work that SC carries out?
3. How would you estimate the degree of gender mainstreaming in SC policies and programs?
4. What does gender mainstreaming mean for the MEAL area of SC?
5. What kind of progress has been made in this regard in the area of MEAL in general and specifically in the education program?
6. Have there been any significant achievements or difficulties?
7. How has the MEAL area collaborated with / contributed to gender mainstreaming in the project that is being implemented in Moquegua?
8. In which phases or components of the project have been given greater weight in gender mainstreaming?
9. What have been the results so far?
10. What have been the most significant achievements or difficulties?
11. What suggestions would you have regarding the project?
12. Do you consider that at the level of the MEAL area you have the necessary tools to mainstream gender?
13. Do you have any needs in this regard?

Appendix 5. Checklist - Gender mainstreaming in the strategic planning phase

Checklist – Gender Mainstreaming in the Strategic Planning Phase

Note: this checklist is intended to support you in remembering some of the key elements related to gender mainstreaming in the Strategic Planning phase. However, the list provided below does not include all the elements that can be part of gender mainstreaming at this stage of the program cycle.

| Question | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| Have you engaged with the senior leadership team on the importance of including gender analysis in the CRSA? Have you secured their commitment? | | |
| Have you organized a meeting with the CRSA Coordination Team to emphasize the importance of gender analysis in the CRSA process? | | |
| Have you invited the CRSA Coordination Team to identify a gender focal point in the Coordination Team's steering group? | | |
| Is at least one of the key informants/experts identified a gender equality expert? | | |
| Have you consulted the key informant(s) who are gender equality experts to provide existing literature on gender inequality to review? | | |
| Have you conducted a review of existing literature on gender inequality (secondary data) in relation to all eight UNCRC reporting clusters? | | |
| Have you ensured that all collected data is disaggregated by age and sex and then analyzed? | | |
| Have you included data and data analysis that portrays the situation of the most marginalized is included? | | |
| Have you made the necessary arrangements to ensure that the key informant(s) specialists on gender equality participate in the key informant meetings and provide insights on the main findings related to gender (including gender gaps)? | | |

Appendix 6. Checklist - Gender mainstreaming in the proposal development and project design phase

Checklist – Gender Mainstreaming in the Proposal Development and Project Design phase

Note: this checklist is intended to support you in remembering some of the key elements related to gender mainstreaming in the Proposal Development and Project Design phase. However, the list provided below does not include all the elements that can be part of gender mainstreaming at this stage of the program cycle.

| Question | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| Have you reviewed the findings of the CRSA and made sure your project focus is aligned with them? | | |
| Have you conducted a more focused gender analysis at the community level? | | |
| Have you identified how you will account for the effects of possible gender inequalities on your project? | | |
| Have you identified interventions that correspond to the root causes of key gender inequalities and promote gender equality? | | |
| Have you identified the main beneficiary group(s) for your project, and ensured the project will equitably reach those most in need? | | |
| Have you translated the learnings from your gender analysis into the Results Framework or Logical Framework? | | |
| Have you identified whether your project is gender exploitative, gender unaware, gender sensitive or gender transformative and made sure that it would meet Save the Children's minimum standard (i.e. gender-sensitive)? | | |
| Have you integrated gender equality in the Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Plan? This means including analysis of age- and sex-disaggregated data, gender-sensitive indicators and indicators that monitor any resistance to gender mainstreaming that may arise during the program. | | |
| Have you considered existing gender equality programming and expertise during partner identification and selection? | | |
| Have you identified the needs of partners (including government partners) and program staff regarding gender equality resources, support, and training and planned trainings to respond to these needs? | | |
| Have you allocated sufficient human, financial and material resources for activities related to gender equality? | | |

Appendix 7. Checklist - Gender mainstreaming in the implementation phase

Checklist – Gender Mainstreaming in the Implementation phase

Note: this checklist is intended to support you in remembering some of the key elements related to gender mainstreaming in the Implementation phase. However, the list provided below does not include all the elements that can be part of gender mainstreaming at this stage of the program cycle.

| Question | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| Have you ensured that gender analysis questions are included as part of the baseline survey, if a baseline has not been conducted already? | | |
| Have you reviewed the results of the baseline survey and made sure that the gender equality findings are addressed in activities that have been planned? If they do not, have you adapted the activities so they correspond to actual needs? | | |
| Have you established mechanisms to facilitate gender mainstreaming in the project, including the designation of gender equality as an agenda item in all meetings and the designation of a gender focal point or champion? | | |
| Have you ensured that project partners have adequate skills to integrate a gender equality lens into the project? If gender equality training is part of the project implementation, have you ensured that the needs of partners and staff are being assessed prior to all capacity building activities? | | |
| Have you conduct a gender mapping exercise to identify key root causes, barriers, opportunities, and assets related to gender equality for the project and intervention area, and developed a Gender Strategic Action Plan to address these challenges? | | |
| Have you assessed whether girls, boys, women, and men participate equitably in the project, both in terms of physical presence and meaningful participation? | | |
| If there were some imbalances in the participation, have you taken appropriate measures to ensure the full and equitable participation of all girls, boys, women and men? | | |